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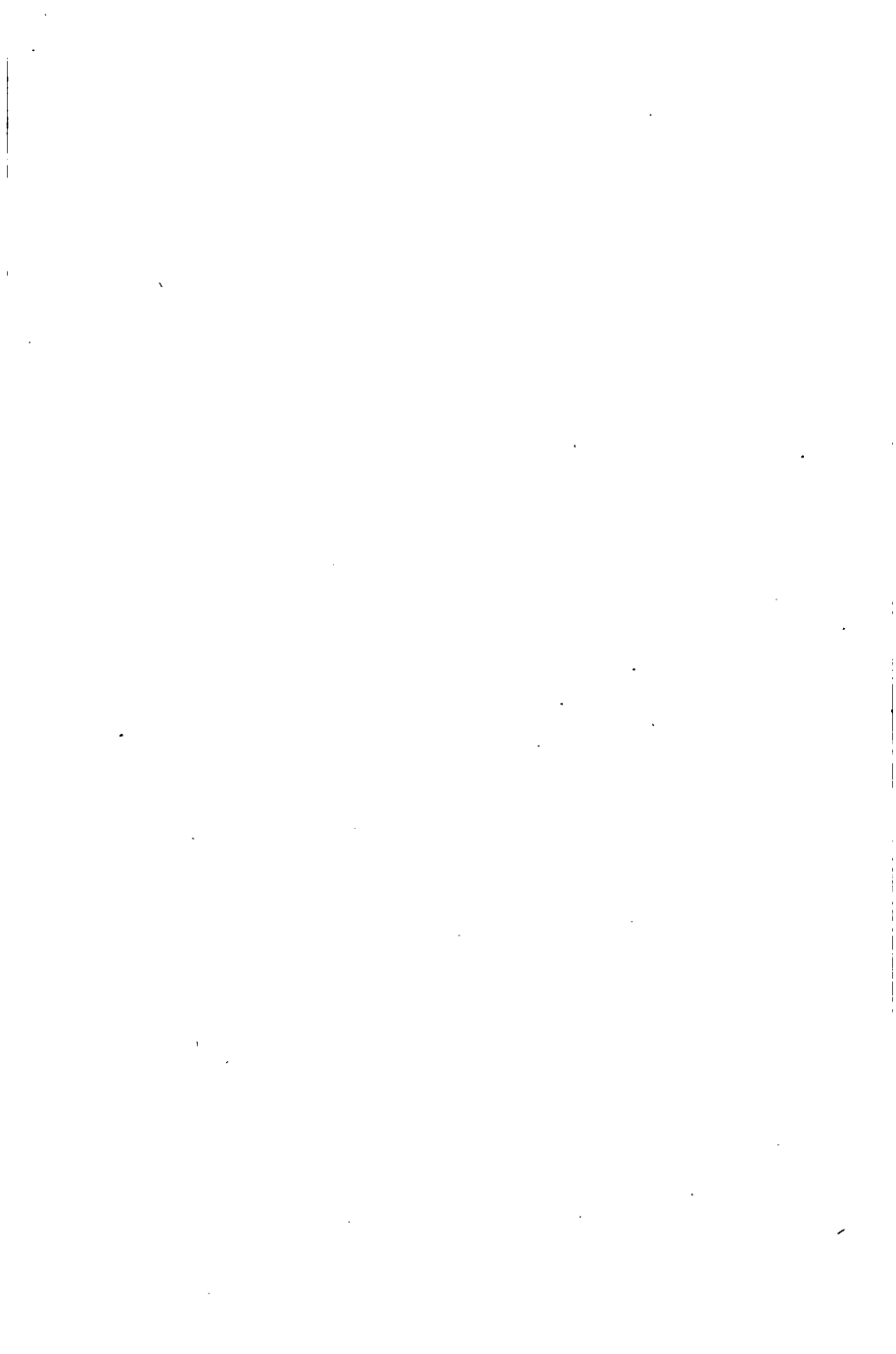
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For

Professor Henry W. Holmes
of Harvard University with
the most cordial greetings of
the author.



**PUBLIC
SECONDARY EDUCATION**

4

PUBLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION

By

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RAND McNALLY & COMPANY

CHICAGO

NEW YORK

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THE INTRODUCTION AND PREFACE

IN presenting this work to the public few explanations are necessary. The aim and purpose of the undertaking seemingly are clearly indicated in the title, and the justification for the production rests in the faithfulness with which these have been followed.

Few will deny, I think, that the field of secondary education in America is to-day not only one of the most interesting fields of study in education, but that it is a most important realm of investigation and research. The high schools of America are largely the foundation upon which the colleges and universities stand, and they are at the same time the culmination and the stimulating ideal toward which much of the work of the elementary schools is directed. They occupy a most important place in our system of education. They serve as agencies of culture for culture's sake, and simultaneously constitute preparatory institutions. Their character is therefore unique. In almost no other country in the world do schools of secondary education combine so many functions under a single type of institution. They are worthy of extensive study.

The purpose of any historical study is, as I conceive it, to make intelligible the contemporary institutional and social life of the present. Social conditions of to-day are as they are because social conditions of yesterday were as they were yesterday. No period is sufficient unto itself. No era stands alone. What was done one hundred years ago affects in some measure the conditions now. Not a jot or a tittle that is significant in to-day's civilization will be wholly unrelated to life interests one hundred years hence.

Therefore, in order to comprehend completely the conditions that prevail in any locality to-day, there would be need to analyze the entire period that has gone before. Obviously, this is in large measure impossible. The best one may hope to do is to select and discriminate, and thus to treat the aspects that have exerted a decided influence upon the present. That has been the plan of this work.

The high school, considered as a historical product, derives its character and form from earlier types of secondary education found in the state. These in turn were influenced not only by the facts of the general educational history of the state, but by the facts of the general educational history of the entire Northwest,—yes, of the general educational history of the nation. Indeed, political, social, and economic factors of all these regions have borne with more or less direct weight upon every recent phase of the special subject.

Hence it has seemed desirable, first, to sketch briefly the entire history of secondary education in America up to the settlement of the Northwest Territory; then to narrow the discussion to the early aspects of general interest to education in this Northwest Territory; then to treat briefly the development of Michigan as a territory and as a state; and, finally, to consider the course of public secondary education in the state during the seventy-nine years it has been a member of the Union.

Current pedagogical theory believes pretty thoroughly in the study of a few type forms in order to derive a general knowledge of the entire related field. Data are too numerous and life is too short to permit of an exhaustive study of all the individual units. Thus psychology isolates a few individuals and studies in detail their characteristics and modes of mental reaction. It then applies the results deduced to all individuals of the same class.

So in physiography, instead of attempting to study and plot every river system and every mountain range, one typical river system and one typical mountain range serve as models. Having acquired a conceptual acquaintance with these, all other systems of rivers and mountains are interpretable and explainable.

The same procedure is followed in zoölogy, botany, and in fact in all sciences. The same principle applies in the study of medicine and of law; of literary masterpieces; of history and social institutions; of schools and education.

In studying the history of public secondary education in Michigan one is, therefore, in reality studying the general history of public secondary education in the entire United States. The system of Michigan is but a type. The systems of the other states differ from it in details, but not strikingly in fundamental principles and characteristics. The study is, in fact, a treatment of public secondary education in America viewed through the lenses of Michigan's history and Michigan's current practices.

In preparing the early portions of the work, namely, Chapters I to IV inclusive, I have made little attempt at original research. These early chapters give merely a background sketch of the general conditions here in America. The facts were taken largely from standard secondary sources, though verifications of statements were often made.

As the work narrowed, source material alone was employed. The chapters entitled "The Early Northwest" and "Early Michigan" are transition chapters. They are based chiefly on secondary accounts and only slightly on primary material. The real work of original research began with the topics relating to the admission of Michigan into the Union in 1837.

For the history of the period from 1837 to 1915 I was forced to rely pretty largely upon Joint State Documents, House Documents, Senate Documents, Compiled Laws, Revised School Laws, Reports of the Superintendents of Public Instruction, reports of local educational authorities to the state authorities, school catalogues, and similar data. While I have endeavored to be careful and accurate in statement, I am certain that the data upon which conclusions have been based were not always dependable themselves. Many figures in the reports of the superintendents of public instruction were obviously erroneous, and editing alone could give fair approach to the real facts. Often local reports were not regularly made to the superintendent, so that the historical study of any one school was frequently marred with breaks and gaps that could not be filled. In such cases nothing was possible except to omit the specific consideration at those points, and to pick up the trail where it next appeared.

Much of the material that furnished a basis for the latter portions of the study consisted of school catalogues and the reports of individual schools; replies to a general questionnaire sent by the writer to several superintendents and principals in the schools to-day; personal letters; and personal knowledge gained from visits to many individual schools and from conversation with teachers and administrators in them.

I wish here to express my sincere thanks to those men—superintendents and principals in the state—who have so courteously and willingly aided me. The questionnaire sent to many of them called for no superficial and hurried list of replies. To answer it, I am sure, must have encroached upon their leisure time. Most of those who answered the questions at all seemed to

appreciate the nature of the request and replied accordingly. Some few treated the request indifferently, and either gave indifferent answers that were of little value to me, or else did not respond at all. On the whole, though, a most excellent set of answers was received.

I wish to express my thanks to Hon. Luther L. Wright, formerly State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Michigan. He has kindly furnished me with much printed material from the state archives and has given me personal suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Arthur O. Norton, of Wellesley College, and Professor Henry W. Holmes, of Harvard University, both of whom have read portions of the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions.

My particular and especial thanks are, however, due to Professor Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University, under whose personal direction and supervision the work has been undertaken and carried to completion. He has encouraged me in my efforts, suggested to me methods of procedure and organization, and has sympathetically read and criticized my manuscript. I give to him my sincere thanks.

University of Michigan
1916

CALVIN O. DAVIS

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PUBLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

THE COLONIAL LATIN SCHOOL

WHEN in 1629 and 1630 the Puritan fathers began the colonization of the Massachusetts coast, they set up here the practices and the institutions of the old home, modifying them only so much as was necessary to make them conform to the ideals and exigencies demanded by the new life in America. Thus at the outset in Massachusetts Bay Colony the settlers sought privately to give their children the rudiments of the English language and the elements of writing and ciphering; simultaneously they set up, publicly, a school of higher learning—the town Latin or grammar school.

As the name implies, the school aimed to give youths a training in Latin grammar and literature, and thus fit them for college. But its ultimate function was to equip them for public service in either church positions or civil and political offices. Such a school was established in Boston in 1635, five years after its settlement—probably the first school of secondary education in America.¹

It is true the Virginia Company and the West India Company had each made provisions for founding schools in America at a date somewhat earlier than 1635, but there seems to be no evidence that any of these projected plans were ever carried into execution. It is quite certain, too, that as early as 1633 there was a school established in New

¹ Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 34.

Amsterdam.¹ This, however, was not a real public school, nor did it aim to give secondary education. It was purely a private undertaking and a school of an elementary character.

From the Massachusetts Colony then, and from Boston in particular, dates the foundation of the American public schools of secondary education. The Boston Latin School was styled a "free school," but it was established and supported at the outset not by the whole body of legal voters, but by the mutual agreement and the voluntary contributions of the "richer inhabitants" of the town. Precisely what was meant, therefore, by the expression "free school" has been a question of much dispute. It is certain that the words did not, in colonial times, denote a school free from all tuition fees. Indeed, such fees were always exacted from every pupil, save, perchance, from the children of the very poorest families. Nor did "free school" signify a school maintained wholly or partially by public taxation, inasmuch as, at the outset at least, schools were not thus supported. Whatever be the exact import of the words, it suffices for our purpose to bear in mind that a "free school" in colonial days was always a school of secondary grade. That is to say, it was a Latin or grammar school.

It is also well here to point out that secondary schools went under various names almost down to our own day. Besides *grammar schools* and *free schools* they were not infrequently referred to as *public schools*, *classical schools*, *Latin-grammar schools*, or merely *Latin schools* — all these expressions being, so far as discoverable, only provincialisms or localisms, and therefore practically synonymous. Before the close of the seventeenth century nearly all the colonies possessed Latin schools; but, save

¹ Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 13.

in New England, these were, almost without exception, private undertakings privately supported. In New England this was not the case. In 1636 Harvard University was founded. In 1642 the General Court established a precedent by enacting a general school law which, though of little force at the time, became later of great historical significance.¹ In 1647 the earlier law was strengthened by changing the permissive features into mandatory provisions. Instead of leaving education in the hands of local selectmen, the law of 1647 explicitly required every town of fifty families to maintain an elementary school, and likewise every town of one hundred families to support a Latin or grammar school. The private or dame schools prepared for the Latin school; the Latin school prepared for the university; the university prepared for social leadership and social service.

Here then was the beginning in America of a school system that recognized three grades of instruction and three types of educational institutions. These are (1) the elementary or primary school; (2) the secondary or college preparatory school; (3) the university or college. The first dealt with the school arts and the tools of education; the second dealt almost wholly with Latin, with slight attention to Greek, mathematics, and English; the last, theoretically at least, presented the sum total of higher learning. Massachusetts thus became the mother of the American school system. Her laws and institutions were adopted, with more or less change, by most of the other colonies. Wherever she led, other colonies followed. Whenever she halted, other colonies lagged behind. Thus matters stood well beyond Revolutionary days. We shall in subsequent pages return to

¹ For the general history of education in Massachusetts see Martin's *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*.

this phase of our study. Meanwhile a more analytical investigation of the colonial secondary schools will be desirable.

Historically considered, the story of secondary education in America falls into three more or less clearly recognized divisions. First is the Colonial Period, with its Latin or grammar school; second, the Middle Period, extending from Revolutionary days down to the time of the Civil War, in which period the characteristic secondary school was the academy; and, third, the Contemporary Period, or period since the Civil War, with the public high school as the typical school of secondary scope. The first period imitates closely the institutions, ways, and ideas of Europe; the last period is typically American; while the intervening period of a hundred years exhibits the characteristics of both the other periods, being largely imitative in the earlier years and gradually developing an independence and an originality of its own in later times.

From the very first, as Dr. Brown conceives the situation, there were thus two opposing influences affecting the higher life of the people of America. These influences were a tendency to and spirit of imitation and an equally strong tendency to and spirit of protest.¹ Everywhere in the institutional life of early America are seen the effects of these mingling forces, but perhaps in no field are they more noticeable than in the field of education and of educational practices. The evidence goes to show that the social ideals and the educational practices of all western Europe exerted considerable indirect influence on the American colonists, but that the great direct stream of formative power flowed in from England, Holland, Scotland, and Germany. All contributed largely to the ideals and organization of American elementary schools,

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

but the great prototypes of the early American secondary school were the English Latin or grammar schools.¹ And yet the Calvinistic influences common in England at the time, and more especially among the Puritans who migrated to America, served here to modify the older types from the outset. Hence from their very birth the American Latin schools conformed more closely to the social needs—or to the ideals conceived to be social needs—of the new settlements, than to the social demands of old England.

There is no doubt, too, that the extensive system of schools established by the Jesuits in Europe and elsewhere had an indirect influence on American schools, but since the territory from Maine to Florida was settled chiefly by Protestants, and largely by English Protestants, and since, too, Catholicism—and consequently the Jesuits—was debarred from England for many years, the direct influence of the Jesuit schools was indeed small or even *nil*.

In consequence of this natural but excessive English influence, the first schools that sprang up in New England took, as we have seen above, a form that was typical at home. The Boston Latin School was first styled a "free school," but was voted and supported not by the town as a whole but by the "richer inhabitants thereof."² It was thus a purely coöperative undertaking,—the members voluntarily agreeing to meet the expense of the school by voluntary contributions. Evidence seems to point, however, to the belief that children of

¹ An excellent account of the early schools of England is found in Leach's *English Schools of the Reformation*. For later schools see de Montmorency's *Progress of Education in England*. For the present-day conditions see Balfour's *Educational Systems in Great Britain and Ireland*.

² Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration*, p. 61. For accounts of the schools of Boston see Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*; Jenk's *Boston Latin School*; early catalogues of the Boston Latin School; Bush's *Early Education in New England*; Boone's *Education in the United States*, and other similar writings.

non-contributors who were not of the "richer" class were also admitted to this school. Indeed, this may be the true significance of the expression "free school," though there is no proof of the theory. Within six years, however, it is certain that the school had become a recognized town school, for we read that in 1641 the town voted to devote to the partial support of this school all the revenues accruing from the rental of lands on Deer Island. Here then was another important step in the history of education in America,—a step no less significant than the decision to establish the school in the first place. This act of the town meeting not only established a precedent for Boston, but also for the whole of Massachusetts and America. It set up the principle that schools are contributory to the social and political welfare of the whole people, and that the establishment and support of schools is, therefore, a legitimate function of government.

During the succeeding ten years Boston voted grants of considerable portions of land, and in 1660 these local town efforts were supplemented by a grant of a thousand acres of land made by the General Court of Massachusetts Colony for the support of schools in Boston. Though this grant was not the first made by the General Court (it had in 1659 voted a like amount of land to each of the three towns of Dorchester, Charlestown, and Cambridge), it served to strengthen the precedent and to fix permanently in our governmental policy the idea that local effort of great social importance may be supported and supplemented by funds from the central treasury. What a mighty rôle the custom thus inaugurated has played in the history of education in the United States! What vast tracts of land has the Federal Government dedicated to schools of all kinds during the century and a quarter! In many parts of America the elementary

schools, the colleges, and the agricultural and technical schools owe their very existence to the generosity of the central government in appropriating lands for their foundation. The Massachusetts law of 1659 had consequences more far-reaching than the uttermost stretch of the imagination of the time could have comprehended. At the time, too, these early central appropriations must have come as welcome benefactions to the struggling little towns whose treasuries were being drawn upon for so many other needs. It is not, however, until 1679¹ that the Boston records make mention of any specific tax being levied by the town upon the town's inhabitants for school purposes, though it is possible such tax was raised at a considerably earlier date.

In the meantime in other portions of Massachusetts Bay Colony other grammar schools were being established. Within the short period of sixteen years after the first extensive settlements in Massachusetts in 1629 eight Latin schools were founded. These were: Boston, in 1635; Charlestown, in 1636; Ipswich, in 1636; Salem, in 1637; Dorchester, in 1639; Newbury, in 1639; Cambridge, in 1643; and Roxbury, in 1645.² Each of these was a school of secondary education, and the aims, scope, and instruction given in all were almost precisely the same as those of the Boston school.

On the other hand, the organization, administration, and support of these schools varied slightly with each town in accordance and harmony with the good old Anglo-Saxon doctrine of local self-government. Indeed, throughout the whole history of Massachusetts, even to the present day, the custom has prevailed of allowing local or individual initiative at the outset to take its own

¹ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-42.

course in the administration and execution of political or civic functions. Then, after this "cut and try" method has produced a fairly acceptable procedure, and other towns and communities, likewise experimenting, have developed a kindred method or standard, the state has stepped in and legitimized the practices by incorporating into a permissive law the common and salient features of all the local regulations. The provisions of this act have later been extended, optionally, to other towns of similar rank and, finally, when the great majority of the towns have adopted the permissive legislation, the state has closed the gaps by making the law mandatory on all alike. This has been the general course of the history of education throughout Massachusetts; and, since many of the other states of the Union have copied their school systems and legislation from this Commonwealth, it is the common practice in vogue throughout a large portion of the United States.¹ In fact, the procedure may not unjustly be regarded as the distinctive feature of Anglo-Saxon governmental practice.

So at the outset of our colonial history each town regulated its school matters as it saw fit, without regard to what other towns were doing—save that in particular matters there was a more or less conscious imitation of the practices thought to be working well in other communities. Sometimes the peculiar local conditions or temporary needs led to the employment of new and hitherto untried methods. In the earliest days school matters, as well as all other town affairs, were discussed and provided for by the whole body of enfranchised citizens of the town, gathered together in town meeting. Then when the town's growth made the town meeting

¹ For a complete elaboration of the view set forth above—especially as the practice has affected educational history in Massachusetts—see that most readable little book, Martin's *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*.

unwieldy and inconvenient, and the town's affairs were largely turned over to selectmen, school functions were in most places left to this new body. Executive duties, such as employing the teacher and overseeing the school's needs and the school's work, led soon to the appointment, from among the selectmen, of temporary committees charged with these specified functions. Inasmuch, however, as these or similar duties recurred annually or oftener, the situation gave rise to permanent school committees. Ordinarily, it seems, these were chosen from among the selectmen themselves, but sometimes they were selected from the non-office-holding class. Particularly was this the case in respect to school visitation and inspection—this function, until early in the nineteenth century, being performed either solely by the Christian ministers of the community or conjointly by them and one or more of the selectmen or the school committee.

In some few towns at an early date special officers other than the selectmen or committee of the selectmen were chosen to take complete charge of the schools. Dorchester, Massachusetts, probably enjoys the distinction of being the first town in this country to provide such a body. In 1645 this town voted in town meeting "that three able and sufficient men of the Plantation shall be chosen to be wardens or overseers of the school, who shall have the charge, oversight, and ordering thereof and of all things concerning the same."¹ Dorchester also claims the honor (with how much justice documentary evidence is not able to decide) of being the first municipality in the world to support a public school "by direct taxation or assessment on the inhabitants of the town."²

¹ Town records. See Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

² Brown, *ibid.*, quotes this from the "Dorchester celebration," then adds: "A competent public commission appointed some years ago in Massachusetts to set at rest the question where the first free public school came into being, was unable to arrive at any final answer, for lack of clear documentary evidence."

At best, the accuracy or inaccuracy of the boast is of little value or importance, save as a source of satisfaction to local pride. The important point to note is that from the very first settlement of towns in New England, attention was given to founding and maintaining schools — many of them of secondary grade and all of them directly or indirectly supported by the town or the "better part" thereof.

As above indicated, no two of these schools were organized, administered, or supported in precisely the same way. In some towns, even as late as the eighteenth century, school questions were decided in town meetings by the qualified voters of the town. In others the selectmen, collectively, controlled. In still others we find committees of the selectmen or, as in Dorchester, special school committees who had complete supervision of all school matters.

Likewise, too, in respect to the means of maintaining the schools, there was a variety of sources of revenue. Tuition fees from all who attended, save from the very poorest children, were common in every town. Rentals from public properties and payments for public monopolies were also not infrequent or insignificant sources of school funds. Among these were revenues from lands, weirs, fisheries, and markets — all specifically dedicated to the support of education. In addition, many gifts, bequests, and endowments helped often to swell the funds, and after 1659 occasional grants from the colonial treasury were made.

It is thus seen that from the earliest days the Puritan settlers fostered a spirit and interest in education which have been of vital importance in the history of our country. Strange as it may seem, this interest was not directed primarily to public elementary schools and

education so much as it was to public secondary schools. It was the Latin school that was first founded in Boston in 1635. It was the Latin school that first arose in Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and the other New England towns. Nor are the explanations of this fact difficult to find. They are discoverable partly in the general traditions of education and educational institutions; partly in the customs immediately current in England at the time of the migrations to America; and partly in the character of the settlers themselves.

In all times and among all peoples, education and literary instruction have been very closely bound up with religious and ecclesiastical matters.¹ Among primitive men the *shaman*, or familiar, acted not only as priest of the tribe but as the teacher of the youth. He it was who, knowing the mysteries of life, was able to transmit them to the adolescent boys. So, too, among the Orientals, the Greeks, and the Romans, education took its rise as a function of the priesthood. With the development of Christianity and the spread of churches, the cathedral and the monastic schools throughout Christendom came to be dominated almost solely by the ecclesiastical authorities. Schools were, therefore, erected and maintained almost completely to the end that religion might be perpetuated, the powers of the Church enhanced, and pious and godly men and women reared. The guide to the religious life, it was conceived, was the Scriptures, and since these for a thousand years had been locked up in the Latin language, the study of the Latin language and literature became paramount. Following the enthusiastic revival of study in the Renaissance and Humanistic movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth

¹ This statement and the following are based on the more common views of the various histories of education, such as Brown's, Monroe's, Davidson's, and Laurie's.

centuries there was added to the Latin a study of the Greek and the Hebrew tongues. The end and aim of literary study was the knowledge of Holy Writ. The means to this knowledge were the Latin schools. Consequently educational traditions and educational practices alike tended to promote this type of school in America.

Finally the very genius and spirit of the early colonists led them to cherish education for noble ends. Many of the settlers of Massachusetts were well educated gentlemen for whom the highest ideals of life were a free Church and a free State in which pious, godly, and learned men were to play equal and active parts. They had come to America to seek to realize those ideals, and the first and foremost means to the end sought was the public school—that is to say, the Latin or grammar school which should fit the youth for college. The ideal evidently was that every boy in the colony should receive a college education. Everywhere among the early political and religious documents of these Puritans one finds reference to the religious, civil, and moral aims that lay at the basis of all activity and all institutional life. For example, in the annals of Roxbury of 1645 one reads: "Whereas the inhabitants of Roxbury, in consideration of their religious care of posterity, have taken into consideration how necessary the education of their children in Literature will be to fit them for public service, both in Church and Commonwealth, in succeeding years. They therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free school in the said town of Roxbury."¹ Again and again in the New England town documents do we find repeated the thought that life is best lived when it is devoted to the

¹ *Annals of Roxbury*, quoted by Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 40. See also Dillaway's *History of the Grammar School in Roxbury*; and Parker's *Sketch of the History of the Grammar School in Roxbury*.

Church and the Commonwealth, and that the best preparation for such a life is the training given by the Latin school and college.

Thus motives of religious and public service dominated the entire life of the times, and in so doing set the ideals for the schools. The theoretical and ultimate aims and ideals were, therefore, for the most part general and primary; but the immediate and practical ends were not wholly lacking. For example, the law of 1642 provided that the various towns and their selectmen should, among other duties, see that there was furnished "learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the Commonwealth." So, too, in 1645, the General Court decreed that boys from ten to sixteen years of age should be trained in the "art and practice of arms"—the instruction to be given "by some one of the officers of the band."¹ Kindred, too, to the religious and civil motives for education was found the philanthropic and missionary motive. Schools were to be open free of charge to the poor children of the town, and express provision was also made, in some of the annals, for the gratuitous instruction of Indian youths.

It is thus to be observed that the leading motive back of all efforts to establish schools was, in the early colonial times, the religious motive. It determined largely the aim, scope, and administration of all educational undertakings. Closely allied with it, however, were the civic and the philanthropic ideals. Though the Renaissance and the Reformation had swept over Europe more than a hundred years earlier, there was still left in Christendom much of the old spirit of medievalism. Asceticism; rigidity of morals and manners; unquestioning faith within the somewhat enlarged, yet still narrow, limits

¹ Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

which an individualism partially enthroned had set; the conceptions of the words "God" and "the Bible" as the most awful that the mind possessed; the view which placed the real goal of life beyond the grave; the contempt for the physical, the natural, the æsthetic, because of the belief that these are evil or at least invite to evil;—all these were characteristics of the fourteenth century, but they are also characteristics that were more or less prominent in New England in the early years of the seventeenth century. To the people of that day, to live at all was a most serious and awful affair; to live a godly life, unselfishly to serve one's fellow men through the state, was the height and depth of human perfection and the noblest pursuit the individual could follow.

Hence the Christian minister took social rank above all others. His ideals became the ideals of the town; his advice became the accepted creed of his flock. From his exalted station he was regarded as *ex officio* a member of every public organization and every administrative body. Consequently his power was enormous, and he exerted it with a feeling that he was divinely directed. The schools therefore were shaped to approximate a youth to the ministerial ideal. The aim was, therefore, at least nominally democratic, in that it was hoped and expected that every boy would receive a thorough education,— that he would become past-master of Latin, and perchance have a good command of Greek and Hebrew.

Nor does the ambition appear so strange when one recalls that, at the very time the Puritans were settling in America, ecclesiastical and civil authority and lay influence in Europe were strenuously seeking to preserve Latin intact as the universal language. It was at this time that Comenius brought forth his *Janua linguarum*

reserata and promised that his method would not only enable one in a brief period to conquer fully the Latin language, but would give a complete and full comprehension of all the knowledge of the world. The optimism and egoism of the teachers and the educational reformers of the age knew no limits; nor is it strange that this peculiar infection respecting the powers of the schools, and of Latin within the schools, should have extended to America. The Latin school was indeed regarded as the very servant of the Lord.

Exactly what was the program of studies in these early schools is not determinable. Certain it is, however, that the ideals were to teach only Latin and Greek and Hebrew, and to inculcate precepts and habits of morals, manners, and religion. If other and more elementary subjects were admitted, it was to make them serve as a foundation for the advanced subjects; they had no merit or worth in their own right or name. Theology was the noblest branch of learning; the classics were the way thereto.

Dr. Brown thinks that the most representative of all the English grammar schools, and therefore the one that best furnishes the ideal of our colonial Latin schools, was that founded by Dean Colet about 1508,¹ and known as St. Paul's School, London.² Certain it is that there was great similarity among all the grammar schools, so that a study of one of them ought to give a fairly accurate notion of all. Moreover, the first master of St. Paul's was William Lilly, the author of the famous Latin grammar that became the standard authority in the schools of England and America. It is therefore very probable that the work in the early colonial schools differed little

¹ It is doubtful whether this school was established in 1508, 1509, 1510, or 1512. See Knight's *Life of Colet*, pp. 102-109.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

from that of St. Paul's. Respecting the requirements of admission to this school one reads: "If your childe can rede and wryte latyn and Englysshe sufficiently soo that he be able to rede and wryte his owne lessons, then he shal be admytted unto the scole for a scholar." "If your childe after reasonable season proved be founde here unapte and unable to lernynge, than ye warned thereof shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not here rowme in vayne." "If he be apte to lerne, ye shal be content that he contynue here tyl he have some competent literatur."¹

Respecting the subjects to be taught, the account continues as follows: "I would that they [the pupils] were taught all way in good literature both laten and greke, and good auctors suych as have the veray Romayne eliquence joyned withe wisdom." Later follows a list of these authors, and it includes both the classical and the Christian. Unless the youth had a fair foundation in the rudiments of learning (which most frequently was apparently not the case) the first work in the grammar school consisted of a study of the alphabet and of simple sentences in English, and the memorizing of the catechism, the Psalms, and the Testament. Then the study of Latin was begun and as proficiency in this subject increased, attention to English diminished. The pupil passed successively through the stages of accidence, grammar, construing, and the making of Latin letters, verses, declamations, and themes. Then followed the study of the selections of the classical literature itself — the works of Æsop, Cæsar, Tully (Cicero), Ovid, Vergil, Horace, Eutropius, Juvenal, Persius, Terence, Sallust, Nepos, Corderius, and Erasmus.²

¹ Lupton, *Life of Colet*, Appendix B.

² Meriwether, *Our Colonial Curriculum*, pp. 74 f.

These and others furnished the literary study, while Priscian, Donatus, and Lilly were the standard authorities in grammar.

All texts used in our colonial schools were brought from England until Cheever's *Accidence* appeared in 1644. This then became the stock primer of Latin for the colonial days.

The *Accidence* was a little book of scarcely a hundred pages and, as the name implies, served as a guide and introduction to the rudiments of the Latin language. It was written in English but was lacking in all illustrative material, both for etymology and for syntax. To master it was a dead lift of the memory. To the scriptural injunction of presenting "line upon line, precept upon precept" was added the massing of fact upon fact, and exception upon exception. No effort was made to elicit the spontaneous interests of the boy, or to make the abstract text connect with the realities of boy life. In fact, the very remoteness of the thought from the worldly matters of the day, the very difficulties that were involved in mastering the language, were considered to be proof sufficient of the value of classical study. Cheever's *Accidence* became very popular and was used in the schools well down into the nineteenth century. It passed through eighteen editions,¹ the last one appearing in 1838.

NOTE. The various editions of this famous textbook differ somewhat from each other in form and in content. The earliest editions, apparently, were the smallest. Those now in the Harvard Library are all 12mo volumes, usually containing seventy-two pages. One, however, has eighty-five.

¹ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 218. I have found, however, in the Harvard Library a reprint of what purports to be a twentieth edition. The original [it is claimed] was published at Salem by Samuel Hall in 1685. A copy of the edition of 1838 is also in this library, but the title page declares the edition was "carefully revised, corrected and stereotyped from the 18th edition." It does not claim to be the eighteenth edition.

The title page of a reprint of the ninth edition reads thus:

A SHORT
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
LATIN TONGUE
FOR THE USE OF THE LOWER FORMS
IN THE
LATIN SCHOOL
BEING THE
ACCIDENCE

ABRIDG'D AND COMPIL'D IN THAT MOST EASY AND ACCURATE METHOD,
WHEREIN THE FAMOUS MR. EZEKIEL CHEEVER TAUGHT AND WHICH
HE FOUND MOST ADVANTAGEOUS FOR SEVENTY YEARS.

THE NINTH EDITION, TO WHICH IS ADDED A CATALOGUE OF IRREG-
ULAR NOUNS AND VERBS DISPOS'D ALPHABETICALLY.

BOSTON. PRINTED BY KNEELAND AND ADAMS, IN MILK STREET
FOR THOMAS LEVERETT IN CORN HILL 1776.

The book gives four pages to an explanation of "Latin Letters, Points, etc.," and then treats briefly of the eight fundamental parts of speech in order. All descriptive matter is in English throughout the book, but the Latin words have no English equivalents suggested. A sample page is herewith given. It is page 12 of the ninth edition.

THE FOURTH DECLENSION

Nouns of the Fourth Declension are of the masculine gender commonly and are thus declined

SINGULARITER		PLURALITER	
<i>Nom.</i>	hic Grad-us	<i>Nom.</i>	Grad-us
<i>Gen.</i>	Grad-us	<i>Gen.</i>	Grad-uum
<i>Dat.</i>	Grad-ui	<i>Dat.</i>	Grad-ibus
<i>Acc.</i>	Grad-um	<i>Acc.</i>	Grad-us
<i>Voc.</i>	Grad-us	<i>Voc.</i>	Grad-us
<i>Abl.</i>	Grad-u	<i>Abl.</i>	Grad-ibus

Some few nouns of the Declension have the Dative and Ablative Plural in *ubus*; as *specus*, *arcus*, *artus*, *tribus*, *partus*.

Those that end in *u* are of the Neuter Gender and not declined in the singular number; but in the Plural Number they are declined.

SINGULARITER

Hoc Genu

Undeclined

PLURALITER

Nom. gen-ua

Gen. gen-um

Dat. gen-ibus

Acc. gen-ua

Voc. gen-ua

Abbl. gen-ibus

Lilly's *Grammar*, which was the second book used by most Latin students, was no improvement over the *Accidence*. In fact, the difficulties were increased rather than diminished. The *Accidence* was written in English; Lilly's *Grammar* was wholly in Latin, and required a "frightful burden of memorizing page upon page" of forms, rules, and exceptions. Nor is this the end. The very colloquial use of English was forbidden in the classroom, and among advanced pupils strenuous efforts were made to keep the youth from uttering a word in that language at any time. Needless to say, this ideal was seldom or never realized, nor was it so truly the aim in secondary schools as in the college and the university.

In so far as Greek was studied at all in the secondary schools its pursuit took the same general course as that of Latin. Greek *accidence*, grammar, and the New Testament followed in order. Then came portions of Plato, Demosthenes, and Isocrates, together with some effort at Greek composition. This task was, however, generally found to be too difficult, and the time at one's disposal too short, to result in any great proficiency, and in few schools was Greek given much attention. Josiah Quincy, writing in pre-Revolutionary days, says that the knowledge of Greek required for admission to Harvard University was "slight and superficial" and consisted of "Gloucester's *Greek Grammar* and ability to construe the

four gospels."¹ In the Boston Latin School, he adds, Xenophon and Homer were merely "dipped into."²

The third subject of emphasis in the colonial grammar schools was the study of the Bible and of religion. The instruction in this field consisted of the catechism, reports of sermons heard on Sunday, attendance on morning and evening prayer, and the committing to memory of portions of Bible history. This consumed much time, but it represents only the formal side of religious teaching. The very atmosphere of the school was surcharged with the religious spirit. Textbooks,—when textbooks became common—fairly oozed religious thoughts. Even as late as the early eighteenth century, when a very noticeable secular spirit had begun to come over New England, this obtrusive religiosity is clearly seen. At that time appeared a little book containing "sentences for children" and intended to be an easier introduction to Latin. In this text on a single "page of thirty-five lines the word God appears 28 times, not counting pronouns."³ Can one wonder at the rebellion against schooling and at the hypocrisy and the evasion of law that were so common at this time? Nor can there be any doubt that the conditions were similar in these respects in the early seventeenth century—or perhaps were even more extreme.

These Latin schools, as before stated, aimed chiefly to prepare youth for college—the earliest ones having Harvard College as their dictating mistress. The two types of institutions—the college and the grammar school—therefore kept step together, the one leading the way and setting the pace and the other docilely

¹ Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77. See also *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 32, p. 873.

following. Both mirrored the thought and ambitions of the age, and as these were narrow and restricted, so the program of studies in the schools was confined and inelastic. The aim and scope of the work in the secondary schools can well be seen from the admission requirements of the college. The requirements of Harvard in 1642 read thus: "When any scholar is able to understand Tully, or such like classical Latin author *extempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, *suo ut aiunt marte*; and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue; Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the college."¹ This was all. The ability to compose Latin and Greek sentences reasonably well was the sole entrance requirement for admission to college and the chief aim of the grammar school. Indeed, not infrequently the requirement in Greek was waived by the college, and in consequence that subject was more and more neglected by the secondary schools.

Once within the college there was still no individual freedom—no choice of subject-matter. Boys were admonished not to "use the mother-tongue except when specially allowed on some public occasion."² Besides, the course was entirely prescribed to its minutest details and was most narrow in scope and variety. In content, form, and method the work differed little from the pattern of medieval scholasticism. All was bookish and dead, nor was effort made to embellish or enliven it. In order to show in its fullness the literary goal of the time I give here the earliest Harvard schedule. This is the work outlined in 1642 for the three years' course.

¹ Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard*, Vol. 1, p. 515; also Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 128, quoting from Pierce, *History of Harvard University*, Appendix, pp. 48-49.

² Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

THE EARLIEST HARVARD SCHEDULE -

First Year's Class	Monday:	Logic, Physics, Disputes.
	Tuesday:	Logic, Physics, Disputes.
	Wednesday:	Greek etymology, syntax, Precepts of Grammar.
	Thursday:	Hebrew grammar, Bible practice, Eastern tongues.
	Friday:	Rhetoric, declamations, ² <i>vocat rhetoricis studiis.</i>
	Saturday:	Divinity, catechetical commonplaces, History, Nature of plants.
Second Year's Class	Monday and Tuesday:	Ethics, Politics and Disputes.
	Wednesday:	Greek Prosodia and Dialectics, Poesy, Nonnus, Duport "or the like."
	Thursday:	Chaldaee, Ezra and Daniel.
	Friday and Saturday:	Continuation, respectively, of first year's courses. ³
Third Year's Class	Monday and Tuesday:	Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Disputes.
	Wednesday:	"Perfect their theory and exercise style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome, both in prose and verse."
	Thursday:	Syriac, Trastius, New Testament.
	Friday and Saturday:	Continuation, respectively, of earlier courses. ⁴

This is the entire program of study of the only college in America at the time. It is top-heavy with dead language and padded with disputations and religious, or quasi-religious, literary material. The program may have contained good material for the training of clergymen, but there was little in it to attract others than this class. What wonder that boys revolted! What wonder that preparatory schools dwindled in attendance! What wonder that towns evaded the law requiring the erection of schools whose ways led only to this goal! What

¹ Meriwether, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

² Once monthly.

³ Continuation of courses given on Friday and Saturday in the earlier year.

⁴ Continuation of courses given on Friday and Saturday in the earlier years.

wonder that special privileges and legal exemptions had to be offered by the town authorities to tempt men to engage in the calling of grammar-school teaching! The secondary school of the day was out of tune with the interests of life. Three times before 1800 the General Court of Massachusetts increased the fine on towns that neglected to maintain a Latin school according to law.¹

Many other laws less drastic in nature but all showing the solicitude of the lawmakers for the perpetuation of learning were likewise enacted during this period previous to the Revolutionary War. For example, in 1652 the General Court gave voice to this fear: "for the better discharge of our trust for the next generation and so to posterity, seeing that the first families do wear away apace and that it grows more and more difficult to fill places of most eminence as they are empty or wanting; and this court finding by manifest experience that though the number of scholars at our college doth increase, yet as soon as they grow up ready for public use they leave the country and seek for and accept employment elsewhere, so that if timely provision be not made it will tend much to the disparagement, if not to the ruin of the Commonwealth. It is therefore ordered and hereby enacted by this court that a voluntary collection be commended to the inhabitants for the support of Harvard college."²

It is evident, too, that private bequests and gifts for schools were decreasing in numbers and that the funds from earlier sources of this kind were being diverted, for in 1671 a law was thought necessary "that the gifts and legacies given to college or schools shall be truly and

¹ In 1671 the fine was advanced from five pounds to ten pounds. In 1683 it was increased to twenty pounds; and in 1718 to thirty pounds. See Hindsale's *Documents*, Rept. Secretary of Interior for 1892-93, Vol. 5., pt. 2., pp. 1232 ff.

² Hindsale, *op. cit.*, p. 1232.

faithfully disposed of according to the true and declared intent of the donors."¹

Nevertheless the schools declined steadily, until it truly seemed that the fears of the fathers would be realized, and that learning would cease to exist among them. Nor is the explanation of this declension difficult to find—the schools no longer served to meet social needs. What the majority of parents desired was an education that would fit their children in more practical ways than the Latin school was doing. A belief gradually grew up that a rigidly prescribed classical course was an expensive luxury. Indeed, some towns were even more outspoken, and openly complained that the type of school required by law actually prevented their children from getting an education. What was wanted was a school that would touch daily life—and touch it in more than one place. The existing type of school satisfied few of any class. For the well-to-do whose boys desired a thorough preparation for college, the later grammar schools were considered inefficient and weak. Few really capable teachers of Latin and Greek were procurable—especially in the smaller and more remote towns. For the boys who had no college ideal ahead of them the little Latin that was taught in the schools was a waste and an infringement upon time that could be better employed. Consequently, between the two dissatisfied factions the public grammar school was in serious danger of being abandoned altogether. Only the law with its penalties saved it from this fate, and at best it enjoyed a precarious existence during the rest of its days—that is, until it was superseded by the modern high school.

In the meantime the majority of such youths as sought admission to college or the study of the classics as merely

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 1233.

an element in a liberal education acquired this training (save in the few towns in which efficient Latin schools were still maintained) through private tutors, or in private academies. These types of schools will be discussed later. Suffice it to say here that they served a noble mission in keeping alive the spark of interest in secondary education during the long dark period of declension of the public secondary schools.

In the old colonial schools the school day was long and the vacations were few and short. At the outset the school was expected to continue almost uninterruptedly six days in the week during the full twelve months. The daily hours were from nine to twelve o'clock in the morning and from two to five o'clock in the afternoon. Sundays were taken up with attendance on religious services during a goodly portion of the day. Not infrequently other than Latin students were admitted to the grammar schools, and in consequence the master often employed an assistant or usher to aid him. In this case the master usually taught the language and perhaps the more advanced work in English, while the usher devoted his time to the younger pupils and to giving instruction in the elements of learning.

Salaries were small, ranging from twenty to seventy pounds a year. These were often supplemented by fees or presents from the children, by the allowance of a residence, rent free, and by the grant of a garden plot or other lands by the towns. The frequent mention made in the old chronicles to a grant of twenty pounds or thirty pounds seems to indicate that these salaries were the most common ones paid. Although these amounts in colonial days had a purchasing value far beyond what they would have to-day, still then, as now, salaries were grossly inadequate and unjust. This fact no doubt

accounts, in part, for the small number of men who entered this vocation. Moreover, very often the salary was paid not in cash but in products of the farms or gardens, though this was a common practice in all transactions in those days and, save in the inconvenience, worked no hardship. An interesting item in the records of the Roxbury school for 1668 shows that the master was to be paid for his services twenty-five pounds — "three fourths in Indian corn and peas and one fourth in barley, all good and merchantable at prices current." ¹

The number of pupils who attended the Latin schools seems to have varied greatly with the different towns and the times. Generally five or ten were a minimum, while not infrequently the number reached one hundred.² Girls were not, of course, admitted to the study of the real secondary subjects, and generally not even to the elementary work given in the grammar schools. An early record of Dorchester shows that the subject of co-education was one that had arisen at the founding of its school, and that its settlement was left to the selectmen, who decided adversely to the girls. It was almost one hundred and fifty years later, — that is, in 1784 — that Dorchester finally gave them the same privileges in secondary education as the boys.³ Even then, the time in which they might attend was limited to the summer months.

Some other towns, it is true, were slightly more advanced than this, for from an early date they allowed girls to attend the schools, provided there was accommodation for them without in any way interfering with the rights and privileges of the boys. However, even where girls were admitted, in most cases they were instructed

¹ Dillaway, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

in classes segregated from the boys. It was not, in fact, until near Revolutionary times that girls received any but tolerant recognition in secondary education. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, had a distinctively girls' school in 1773,¹ and Boston accorded girls the privilege of attending the boys' school in 1789,—though the instruction was given separately.

This, then, was the general situation of secondary education in Massachusetts down to the close of the colonial period. Much more attention has been given in this treatise to the educational history of this colony than can, or need, be given to any other colony. This has been done for two reasons: first, Massachusetts is the mother of secondary education in many other portions of America, and, secondly, the idea of public secondary education in America at this period found almost sole support in Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies.

When one turns to the early history of the Plymouth Colony one finds, however, that there attention to education was, at first, slight indeed. It was not until 1658,—that is, thirty-eight years from the founding of settlements here,—that the question of public schools was even formally considered.² Even then the General Court only suggested that towns "ought" to erect free schools. Similar efforts were made in 1663, but without success. In 1673 the General Court voted to appropriate to the support of a free school, if erected, the proceeds derived from the fisheries "at the cape." This sum amounted to thirty-three pounds, and with it a secondary or Latin school was opened. In 1677, towns of fifty families were authorized to erect grammar schools and to levy a tax of twelve pounds annually upon the people of the town. The colony was to distribute funds from the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

² Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 1630 *ff.*

fisheries to all such towns as accepted the provisions of the law, and the remaining support was to come by voluntary contributions from those who sent children to the school.¹ However, the Latin school did not flourish, since its work was even more out of harmony with the life of the fishing interests here than it was with the more varied ideals found in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Nevertheless, when the two colonies later became merged and the school laws of Massachusetts were extended over Plymouth, there was the nominal pretense, at least, of keeping up the schools, but with very barren returns.

The early history of secondary education in the Connecticut and New Haven colonies is a close duplicate of that of Massachusetts.² The records show that Hartford voted thirty pounds for the support of a Latin school in 1642, but there is good reason to believe that the school was in existence earlier than this date. The support of the school was to be secured partly from public funds and partly from private bequests. This was the same arrangement many towns in Massachusetts had. In 1650 there was drawn up the famous Codification of the Laws of Connecticut. In principles and in precepts these laws followed very closely the laws of Massachusetts. What is of especial interest to us, however, is that the Massachusetts school law of 1647 was copied into the Connecticut Code almost *in toto* and *verbatim*. After this date every town of one hundred families was required to maintain a Latin school. In this the elements of Latin and Greek were to be taught, and, it was suggested, also the beginnings of Hebrew. Like its prototype, this law also imposed a fine upon towns that failed to comply with its mandates. But, as in Massachusetts, and for like reasons, the law was ignored and evaded. From time to time the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1630 ff.; also Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.; also Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 1245 ff.

fine here was increased, and more strenuous efforts were made to secure the enforcement of the law, but without much real success.

Meanwhile, in 1638, New Haven was founded, and within four years had erected a Latin school. To this school Mr. Ezekiel Cheever was called as master. Here he remained ten or twelve years, and it was here that he brought out his *Accidence*.¹ During his incumbency the school seems to have flourished, but its high rank was not long maintained. It is very probable, indeed, that his departure from New Haven was due, in part at least, to the indifference and the lack of moral support accorded the school by his townsmen.

Other towns in the colony likewise established Latin schools, but the early enthusiasm for them soon cooled. In 1660 all the towns abandoned their separate undertakings and united in founding a "colony grammar school."² This school endured but two years. At that time, in 1662, the New Haven Colony was absorbed into the Connecticut Colony and came under her laws. From this time to the Revolution the history of secondary education in Connecticut followed the same precarious course it did in Massachusetts. Moreover, the curriculum, the administration, the textbooks, the methods, and the general spirit of all these schools are so similar as to call for no specific discussion here. The point to be kept in mind is that all were out of touch with social interests and social needs, and all, consequently, gradually declined near, if not quite, to complete disruption.

In Rhode Island, *the* non-conformist colony of the

¹ It is a little uncertain when Mr. Cheever first began to teach in New Haven. He left there, however, in 1650, spent the next twenty years in Ipswich and Charlestown, and became master of the Boston Latin School in 1670, where he served continuously for thirty-eight years. He died in office in 1708, at the age of ninety-four.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

non-conformist colonies, there seems to have been little unity of opinion or harmony of action. The educational data are few indeed. Apparently no attempt was made previous to 1800 to erect a system of public secondary schools within that territory. In that year each town was required by law to maintain one or more free schools at public expense.¹ Previous to this time all education was private.

Of the other New England States, New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts until 1680 and therefore has no history of her own until after that date. By that time the secondary schools had practically ceased to exist save in the more populous and wealthy towns, so that down through colonial times New Hampshire may be truly said to have had no real public secondary schools. Still her laws provided for such schools, and in name they did exist.

Maine and Vermont likewise have no history of their own during this period, and may be omitted from consideration.

In the middle colonies almost no thought or attention seems to have been given to secondary education during the colonial period. New York, New Jersey, and Delaware each had fairly good elementary schools at an early date, but all were supported and administered by the Church, or by private and coöperative effort. The first school of secondary grade in New York—at least the first publicly supported secondary school—did not arise until 1710.² This was established to teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics, but seems not to have had much influence or permanency.³

In Pennsylvania, William Penn at the outset gave

¹ Dexter, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ Another school appears to have been established in 1732, which, after a series of changes, is thought to have furnished the nucleus from which Columbia College sprang in 1754.

great encouragement to education and to schools, but in the later charters not so idealistic and liberal a spirit is shown. However, in 1689 the Friends' Public School was opened in Philadelphia. In 1697 this school was chartered as the William Penn Charter School. It was a school of elementary and secondary grade, was open to youths of both sexes, and was to be free to those who were too poor to pay tuition.¹ Later, however, this school became purely a sectarian school, its organization and administration passing entirely out of the hands of public officials. It still holds high rank, but no longer comes within the scope of this discussion.

In the South the educational efforts have, until a comparatively recent day, been largely directed to the establishment and support of church or private schools. In colonial times, few indeed were the attempts made to set up either elementary or secondary schools at public expense. In each one of the colonies laws were passed from time to time encouraging education, but all laws pertaining to public schools were permissive in character and hence produced few or no results. In all parts of the South appeared from time to time grammar schools endowed by wills, grants, and gifts. Many of these received charters from the provincial government and, to this extent, became quasi-public schools. Still they are not of the same character as the Latin school of New England, and scarcely come within the scope of a treatise that professes to deal only with public secondary education. The Virginia legislature had, however, in 1660, enacted a law providing for a "college and a free school," but neither institution materialized. Likewise Maryland, by law, in 1696, sought to establish public schools, but nothing came of the effort.

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 74; also Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

South of Virginia there were no schools until after 1700!¹ In South Carolina, in 1701, a free school was set up in Charleston. This was founded by a gift of money from several charitable persons, and the state granted it a charter. The master was required to be a member of the Church of England and to be able to teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics. He was to receive an income of one hundred pounds per year out of the "public treasury," the balance of the salary being made up by fees.² A law of 1722 authorized justices to "purchase land, erect a free school in each county and precinct, and to assess the expenses upon the lands and slaves within their respective jurisdictions." "At the close of the Revolutionary War South Carolina had eleven public and three charitable grammar schools, besides eight schools of a private nature."³ These, however, seem to have been nearer the type of the old academies than of the old Latin school. Nor do they seem to have been public secondary schools in the sense in which we now use that expression.

In North Carolina conditions were similar. In 1745 a law authorizing the erection of free schools was passed, but, as its provisions were solely permissive, little was accomplished. Here, as in other parts of the South, semi-religious, semi-public schools arose that served in place of grammar schools, but which in reality were varying forms of the old academy.

Reverting to Virginia, one finds during the Revolutionary period, that is in 1779, a most comprehensive system of elementary, secondary, and higher education proposed by Thomas Jefferson. Nothing came of his efforts at that particular time, but in 1796 his ideas were

¹ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

embodied into law. However, since this act was permissive and not at all mandatory, Jefferson's advanced, though cumbrous, ideas were never put into practice.

Thus one finds that, at the close of the colonial period, public secondary education had, from Maine to Georgia, been practically abandoned. Only in the laws of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire were there found mandatory provisions for such schools, and, as has been observed, even here (save in the larger and more law-abiding towns) there was no semblance of enforcement of them. Elsewhere, secondary education was being given, where given at all, privately, by ministers and young college students, or in the semi-religious, quasi-private endowed schools or academies. A brief survey of the work done in these institutions will be the aim of the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE PERIOD

THE next great period of secondary education in the United States covers something over one hundred years. It extends from late pre-Revolutionary days down to, or beyond, the era of the "Common School Revival" in the first third of the nineteenth century. Its approximate dates may be fixed as 1750 at one end of the span and 1850 at the other. It is an important century in the development of American ideas, character, and institutions; but so far as it bears directly and immediately on the development of free, public, secondary education it is a time that is relatively barren. The dominant school of the age was the academy, and this in a very limited and general way only may be regarded as a public school. Nevertheless in a very true sense the academies did serve public educational needs, and a complete account of the secondary education in the United States could not be given without making considerable mention of them. They were not always supported by a public tax; but neither were the public Latin schools during all their history. Their administration was not undertaken by elected public officials; but in many of the early grammar schools the control was not vested in a body of men elected by all the citizens. Tuition fees were charged in most academies; but in this respect, too, the practice differs not at all from that found in the earlier schools. Indeed, in many ways the academy was but a modified type of the Latin school. It arose in this transformed shape to fill a social need, and it filled it.

We have seen that the New England grammar school had, under pressure of the democratic, secular, and social changes and demands of the people, gradually lost its hold upon society, and had been either abolished entirely or else converted (in fact, if not always in name) into an elementary school. The old Latin school was, despite its original aim, aristocratic in nature. It served only the interest of those who had before them a relatively long period of study, and whose ultimate vocation was to lie in the professional fields. Six years in the Latin school could hardly be afforded by the majority of youths. Even six years spent in this way qualified one neither generally nor specifically for active life, unless the grammar-school course was supplemented by an additional period of study in the college. The new social conditions called for new social agencies, and especially for schools with a program of studies of greater scope and flexibility. These were not publicly provided, and consequently people secured what they wanted through other channels.

The old statutes of New England requiring town Latin schools still stood. The officials often sought their perfect enforcement, though few changes had been made in the laws to meet the changed social needs. There was a wide gulf between the letter of the law and the spirit of the age, but few legal attempts were made to close it. Nevertheless, in the last analysis, it is free public opinion that really enforces law under any democratic government. Where the sentiments of a people are indifferent or opposed to legislation of a particular kind all the machinery of government can never secure more than tacit obedience to the letter of the law. The spirit will be broken though the precept be enforced.

This was the case in New England over a considerable

portion of the history of its grammar schools. Towns disobeyed the law deliberately, and found it cheaper to pay the specified fine than to keep the school.¹ In many instances the school was open during the required number of months, but was held successively in different sections of the town—a brief period in each. Few pupils thus attended regularly for more than a few weeks at a time. The emphasis was placed not on the study of Latin and Greek as in the earlier grammar schools, but upon the elementary subjects. Not many pupils, in fact, had any desire or inclination for the classics. Scholarship declined. The necessity of teaching the veriest rudiments of elementary branches made grammar-school teaching unattractive to most college graduates; they sought service in other fields. The effect on the schools was natural. As in the realm of physics, so here, action and reaction were equal and opposite in direction. There were few scholarly teachers in the schools to inspire pupils to advanced study, and, conversely, the small number of really ambitious pupils made the calling distasteful to the ambitious young men. All these conditions could but accentuate the growing weakness of the grammar school and aid in its decline.

Still there were families that looked with regret upon the disintegration of the old type of school. The colleges continued to require for admission the old inflexible Latin preparation. If a boy were to enter at all, he needs must obtain this preliminary training somewhere. For a time this need was met by the private tutor, who very often was the minister of the town, or some young college man who gladly accepted the invitation to earn a few shillings during his vacation periods or while waiting

¹ See Martin, *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, for a full account of these changes.

to get established in his profession. But the demand steadily increased for schools that should do this work and at the same time be able to furnish a more liberal course of instruction in the English branches for young men whose vocations in life were to be non-professional. Out of these demands arose the American academy.

The first institution of this kind and name in America was that fathered by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. As early as 1743 his practical mind had formulated the idea, but conditions were not ripe for its implanting. Six years later, however, his hope was realized. In 1749 the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia was founded. In 1753 it was incorporated with three semi-distinct departments,—namely the Latin, the English, and the Mathematical. Each department had its separate master, and, contrary to Franklin's wish, the Latin master held chief rank. The school was endowed chiefly by private contributions, but the city contributed out of the general treasury two hundred pounds the first year and pledged the public tax for one hundred pounds additional each year for five years. Here the public interest ended. The control of the school was vested in a body of trustees selected by the contributors, and this body was to be self-perpetuating. The school was open to all boys on equal terms. Its aims are set forth in the petition presented by the promoters when they sought aid from the city government. They are as follows:¹

1. To give the youth an opportunity to receive a good education at home, where not only a considerable expense can be saved but where a "stricter eye" can be kept over his morals by his friends and relatives.
2. To fit a number of young men for the magistracies and other public offices of trust.

¹ Adapted from the quotations given by Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 185.

3. To train teachers for the elementary schools.

4. To attract students to Philadelphia from the surrounding communities and thus help trade and business.

"As to their [the pupils'] studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and ornamental; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended."¹

English subjects were especially emphasized. Each pupil was taught the "three R's," together with the elements of grammar and composition, geometry and astronomy. History was in particular favor, and through this subject it was expected that introduction would be given to "almost all kinds of useful knowledge." Indeed, "geography, chronology, ancient customs, oratory, civil government, logic, language, and even morality and religion were to find their first entrance into the attention and interest of the students through the channel of history."²

Natural history, agriculture, horticulture, commerce, industry, and mechanics were also to be taught. The school was moreover to cultivate "that benignity of mind which . . . is the foundation of what is called good breeding."

In 1754 a fourth department was added to the academy, —the Philosophical. In 1755 there was a reorganization of the work, and henceforth the Latin and Philosophical departments were regarded as constituting a college, and the English and Mathematical departments, the academy. The school was highly successful from the first. Tradition and fashion were too strong, however, to hold the Latin and the Philosophical departments to the new ideals, and they soon went their own superior

¹ Taken from Franklin's sketch of a plan, as quoted by Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

way, leaving the English school to become little more than an appendage to the classical school.

Here then is seen a type of institution that was, at the outset, distinctively different from the old grammar school. There was a difference in aim, scope, support, control, administration, and constituency. Indeed, the close similarities to the old type of school were few in number and difficult to discover. The old aim was solely to fit for college; the new was to equip for varied vocations in life. The old curriculum was limited and fixed; the new was liberal, and, within limits, was adapted to individual needs. In the old school "Latin probably constituted nineteen twentieths" of all the school work.¹ In the new academy Latin was not necessarily studied at all; but in place of it, or alongside of it, there were offered (at least in theory) the elements of all the knowledge accessible to the age. The Latin school was supported, controlled, and administered by the town; the academy was subsidized by the government, but was directed solely through private authority. The old Latin school articulated below with the dame school, and above with the college; the academy articulated with the home and with life. Finally, instead of drawing its pupils almost solely from the homes of the wealthy, the cultured, and the professional classes, as did the Latin school, the academy enrolled among its numbers the rich and the poor, the orthodox and the heterodox, the sons of the minister and lawyer and the sons of the farmer and tradesman. In short, the new type of school was democratic and popular; the old type was aristocratic and unpopular.

Nevertheless, with the rise of the academy the old school did not entirely die out. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire the statutes still

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

required the erection and maintenance of Latin schools, but after 1750 these continued to decline rapidly and to serve fewer and fewer community needs. It is true that some of the southern states—particularly Maryland and South Carolina—did, after this date, attempt to establish public grammar schools modeled on the laws of New England, but their efforts came to no practical end.

From 1750 well down into the nineteenth century the academy may almost be said to have furnished the only secondary schooling in America.¹ Every section of the country—especially after the Revolutionary War—took up the idea with enthusiasm. In New England,² the movement started with the erection of the Dummer School at Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1761. This school was founded solely by private endowment, and was a close approximation to the old-time Latin school. It was not supported or controlled by the town, but its aims and scope were as typically narrow as those of the town grammar schools. This school therefore partakes of the nature of both the old and the new institutions, and may be truly regarded as the expression of the halting ideas of this transition period. In 1782 the school was incorporated and was transformed in fact, as well as in name, into the Dummer Academy.

Meanwhile a truly typical academy of the best kind had been established by the Phillips family at Andover, Massachusetts. This was in 1778, in the very midst of the Revolutionary period. In 1782 Phillips Exeter Academy was founded at Exeter, New Hampshire. Both became models for other communities to copy. The aim of these schools was set forth in the constitution that

¹ For a good account of this whole period see Mayo, *Public Schools during Revolutionary Times*.

² See Allen, "Old Academies," as published in the *New Englander Magazine*, January, 1885.

was drawn for their governance, and was, indeed, an admirable one. It was to "lay the foundation of a public free school or academy for the purpose of instructing youth not only in English and Latin grammar, writing, arithmetic, and those sciences which they are commonly taught, but more especially to learn them the just end and real business of living." Hence "the first and principal object of the institution is the promotion of true piety and virtue; the second, instruction in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, together with writing, arithmetic, music, and the art of speaking; the third, practical geometry, logic, and geography; and fourth, such other liberal arts and sciences or languages as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit or as the trustees shall direct."¹ The majority of the trustees were not to be residents of the town in which the school was located. Pupils were admitted from "all quarters" of the country, and the only admission requirement was the ability to read English well. The master was expected "critically and constantly to observe the variety of their [pupils'] natural tempers and solicitously endeavor to bring them under such discipline as may tend most effectively to promote their own satisfaction and the happiness of others."²

Here is the embodiment in concrete form of the new principle and the new spirit. The aim is first to make the man and then to train the scholar. The gates of the school are thrown open wide to receive any who wish to come, whatever be his condition, his resources, or his aim. Tuition fees there are indeed, but such were required in every Latin school. Besides, in comparison with the fees demanded in the old type of school the academy fees were small.

¹ Constitution of Andover Academy, as quoted by Dr. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 198, quoting from the constitution.

To teach the value of righteousness and the charm of virtue; to induct a youth into the literary and scientific wealth of the race; to train for service to others through self-activity were fundamental principles of every worthy academy. In such, too, the first efforts in the American schools were made to discover the natural bent and capacity of the pupil and to graft on these. With the academies begins the effort to discover a pupil to himself; to fit him to get the most satisfaction out of life and to put the most service into it; to be an individual with individual tastes, interests, and ideals and at the same time to be an active, loyal, efficient member of the social whole. No longer is the aim solely to elevate the few to positions of commanding dignity, but to raise the many to a slightly higher plane. No longer are scholars to be cast in the same narrow mold, but the forms are to be varied in shapes and sizes. No longer is a liberal education to be synonymous with the ability to imitate Cicero or to peruse Homer in original Greek. If there still is no royal road to learning, each person is at least permitted to hew out his way by the route that suits him best. From this time forth secondary education in the United States was never synonymous with mere classical study, nor did its course always lead ultimately and inevitably to the college doors. Latin and Greek continued to have their places in the program of studies, and for a long time hereafter enjoyed the prestige that comes with longevity and tradition, but they never again monopolized the field as in the pre-academy days.

For a time after the academy movement started the colleges adhered to their old admission requirements, and sought to stem the tide. Under this policy Latin in the secondary schools became a "protected industry," and its study was pursued by all whose goal was the university.

However, the rise of new colleges, built on the foundation of a more liberal choice of subject-matter, together with the accelerated force of the secondary schools themselves, gradually broke down the old barriers and forced the acceptance of the modern spirit upon the conservative institutions.

In this way the academies served the welfare of posterity. In this way much of the progress of secondary education has been made in the past. The spirit of the age was opposed to maintaining longer at public expense a secondary school of the old type. The returns on the investment did not justify the outlay. Then, when public favor in all kinds of education was waning, the more liberal and vital work of the academies revived interest in secondary schools and led, in time, to the reestablishment of such schools as a function of the state, to be supported and directed by the state.

There were few schools of this type established in America previous to the Revolutionary War — either in fact or in name. Those that did exist were of an entirely different character from those of later days. These later ones were schools of general culture. The earlier ones were not. Those founded after the Revolutionary War fitted for college as well as for life. Those founded "previous to the middle of the eighteenth century had no connection with preparation for college. They represented the intrusion of a different view of the function of the school. They smacked of trade."¹

It is seen, therefore, that though the New England grammar school had woefully declined in the Northeast, and that previous to the Revolution no colony except Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had any kind of a public secondary school supported by the

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

people and required by law, still secondary education was not wholly neglected. "There were schools of many sorts supported by the Church, by colonial legislative grants, by taxation on the people, by private corporations, by associations of neighbors, and by family tutorship in all the American colonies before that date, but in no colony beyond the Hudson was there any system."¹

Some grammar schools founded in South Carolina just previous to the Revolution are, in fact, in existence to-day, and constitute a part of the public-school system. For example, the school founded by the Wenyaw Indigo Society in 1753 at Georgetown, South Carolina, is a case in hand. This school existed for many years as a seminary, then declined, and as late as 1886 was presented by the "club" to the community for a public graded school.² There are similar cases throughout the whole South. However, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War "there were probably less than 100 academies or secondary schools of real importance in all the thirteen colonies."³ The war caused many of these to suspend, and some ceased to exist absolutely. Still education went on. Between 1776 and 1786 five new colleges were founded in the United States, and from 1784 to 1796 nine others were established.⁴

Secondary education must have been keeping pace, for

¹ *U.S. Com. Reports*, 1893-94, Vol. I, p. 675.

² *Ibid.*, p. 692.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 712.

⁴ The following, taken from *U.S. Com. Reports*, 1908, pp. 648 ff., is the list of colleges founded previous to 1800, together with their dates of opening:

1. Harvard (Mass.), 1638. (Founded in 1636.)
2. William and Mary (Va.), 1693.
3. Yale (Conn.), 1701.
4. University of Pennsylvania, 1740.
5. Princeton (N.J.), 1746.
6. Washington and Lee (Va.), 1749.
7. Moravian Seminary and College for Women (Pa.), 1749.
8. Columbia (N.Y.), 1754.
9. Brown (R.I.), 1746.
10. Rutgers (N.J.), 1766.
11. Hampden-Sidney (Va.), 1776.
12. Dickinson College (Pa.), 1783.

colleges cannot thrive unless preparatory schools furnish them a body of students.

With the conversion of colonies into states during the period from 1776 to 1781, constitutions were drawn to serve as the foundations of the new government.¹ In these frameworks of government there was a diversity of treatment respecting education.² Massachusetts and New Hampshire gave full attention to the subject and provided for a continuance of their old policies. Connecticut and Rhode Island perpetuated, through their charters, their former institutions and ideas,—Connecticut having at this time, thinks Professor Hinsdale, perhaps the best educated body of citizens in America. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina made no mention of education in their first constitutions. Georgia declared education should be promoted. Pennsylvania provided that schools for "the poor" should be established by the legislature as soon as convenient, while South Carolina laid down the general principle that "schools should be established."

Many of the earliest constitutions were, however, hastily drawn, and proved to be not properly adapted to the changed social and political needs. In consequence, soon after the close of the war many of these were amended

13. Washington College (Md.), 1783.

14. University of Nashville (Tenn.), 1785.

15. Western University of Pennsylvania, 1786.

16. Annapolis Naval College, 1789.

17. College of Charleston (S.C.), 1791.

18. Williams (Mass.), 1793.

19. University of Tennessee, 1794.

20. Greenville and Tusculum College (Tenn.), 1794.

21. Bowdoin College (Me.). (Founded 1794, but opened 1802.)

22. University of Carolina, 1795.

23. Union College (N.Y.), 1795.

24. Washington College (Tenn.), 1795.

¹ It will be recalled that this action was taken by all the colonies save Rhode Island and Connecticut. These states continued in force their old colonial charters—even well down into the nineteenth century.

² The following statements are adapted from an article on the "Constitutional Provisions respecting Education," in the *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 17, pp. 83 ff.

and revised. In these new drafts education received more consideration.

Moreover, before 1812 five new states—Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana—were admitted to the Union on an equality with the other and older states. It is significant to note, therefore, that between 1783 and 1812 ten states placed educational provisions in their constitutions. Few of the sections were specific and definite, but they at least laid upon the legislatures the duty of encouraging and fostering education and schools, and in so doing revealed which way public opinion was moving. From 1812 to the present time (save in the constitution of Illinois, drawn in 1818) no new or revised constitution of any state in the Union has failed to contain articles or sections pertaining to the question of public schools.

There is nothing in these constitutional provisions that bears directly upon secondary education; but, after all, the basis for all such later public schools is found in them. The old Latin schools were planned and developed from above. They grew out of the demands of a real or ideal college and were founded to furnish a student body to the higher institutions of learning. The academies were fundamentally and essentially independent of, and detached from, all other schools—above or below. They existed by virtue of their own right and merit. The later secondary schools of a public nature,—that is, the public high schools,—in general developed from below, and in most states owe their very existence to the constitutional provisions relating to common schools. Hence there is a deep significance and an auspicious foreshadowing in the educational provisions found in both the earlier and the later constitutions of our states.

Supplementing the action of the various states, the old

Confederate Congress lent its influence to the encouragement of education. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided that the sixteenth section of every township of land ceded by the individual states to the United States should be reserved and rededicated by the central government for the support of public schools.¹ Two years later the same body further immortalized itself by passing the famous Ordinance of 1787. The crowning sentence of this act reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The United States government has never departed from the principles enunciated in this Ordinance.

In 1787, when at Marietta, Ohio, the first settlement in the Northwest was made, the town was given a sum of two hundred dollars for the support of schools and a minister.² This amount, it is true, was not paid directly by the government but by Mannaseh Cutler who, at the time, was the chief intermediary between the central authority and the pioneers of the Northwest.

When Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803, Congress straightway dedicated the sixteenth section of every township to the inhabitants of that township for school purposes. When in 1818 Illinois was made a state this policy was slightly modified, so that the sixteenth section was given not to the inhabitants of the township but to the state at large, to be used, however, only for schools in the particular townships in which the designated sections of land were located. On the entrance of Michigan into the Union in 1837 a third and final change was made in the method of distributing school lands. Now they were granted collectively to the state as a whole for the "use

¹ Hinsdale, *Documents*, p. 1269.

² Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 104.

of schools" in the state as a whole. This practice has ever since been followed.¹

Common schools—that is to say, elementary schools—under governmental support and control began, therefore, to develop in every part of the Union shortly subsequent to the Revolutionary period. The efforts that formerly had been centered on public secondary education were now transferred to the lower grade of schools, while in the old field the academies dominated almost exclusively. Thus, from 1790 to 1840 the two central agencies in popular education were the district school on the one hand and the endowed academy on the other.

In no complete and perfect sense, of course, was any one of the academies a true public school. Nevertheless they pretty largely took the place of the public secondary school, and the government in several states made some financial provision for their maintenance. Instead of contributing annually toward the support of education, as the states do to-day, the policy during the period under immediate consideration was not infrequently to subsidize the academies by paying over to them, once for all, a lump sum. Not every private or local venture, of course, obtained such governmental grants, the general condition of receiving them being that the town, county, corporation, or other responsible organizers should first raise, as a permanent endowment fund, a sum at least equal to that solicited from the central government.

So far as the national and state government did, however, subsidize these schools they did it chiefly through land grants. Having done this the governments "received their applause and withdrew from the stage." Respecting the administration of the schools thus aided the states "asked few questions and imposed few conditions."

¹ Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 1271.

In New England during this period the academy and the town grammar school existed side by side. In 1789 Massachusetts enacted a new law requiring towns of two hundred families to support a "grammar master of good morals, well instructed in the Latin, Greek, and English languages." Respecting the attendance the law further provided that "no youth shall be sent to such grammar school unless they shall have learned in some other school or in some other way to read the English language by spelling the same, or the selectmen of the town where such grammar school is shall direct the grammar-school master to receive and instruct such youth." "All instructors of youth" were "to take diligent care and to exert their best endeavors to impress on the mind of the children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety, justice, and sacred regard for truth, love for their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornaments of human society and the basis upon which the republican constitution is structured." Only college graduates or those presenting certificates "from a learned minister well skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, settled in the town where the school is proposed to be kept, or two other such ministers in the vicinity thereof,"¹ shall be permitted to teach in the grammar school.

This law reveals the fact that though the statute might regard the grammar school as a school of secondary or superior type, as a matter of history such schools in Massachusetts in 1789 were of a very elementary grade. The law also shows the hold the clergy still had upon the administration of secondary education at the time, and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1236 ff.

the religious, moral, and civil ideals that entered, avowedly and specifically, into the spirit of the institution. The curriculum was indeed narrow, but it included vastly more than the classics—it included the philosophical principles of life.

Eight years later, in 1797, Massachusetts openly avowed her policy of subsidizing privately initiated or locally established academies. By doing this she, at first sight, seems to have been building up in the state two mutually antagonistic systems of secondary schools, but in reality the academy and the grammar school simply supplemented the work of each other.

The conditions in the other New England states at this time were similar. For example, after 1798, in Connecticut the Latin school was no longer legally compulsory, but any town, or portion of a town, or portions of two or more towns, could by a two-thirds vote of the inhabitants thereof establish a high school in which the English branches, together with Latin and Greek, might be taught.¹

In New York as early as 1787 power was given the legislature to charter academies, and in 1790 the "literature fund" was created which, from that day to this, has annually furnished state aid to institutions of secondary education.

In Virginia as early as 1780 the legislature set aside, in what is now Kentucky, eight thousand acres of land for an academy. Before 1800 there were thirty academies in that state,² each being given six thousand acres of land and the right to raise one thousand dollars in cash by means of lotteries. Similar generosity was shown to the academies by the other southern and western states. It is computed that by 1830 there were in the United

¹ Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 1252.

² Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

States approximately 950 incorporated academies of the better type. How many there were unincorporated and of only a brief span of life there is no way of determining. The incorporated schools were distributed as follows:¹

STATE	No.	STATE	No.
Maine.....	32	Pennsylvania.....	92
New Hampshire.....	30	Delaware.....	1
Vermont.....	35	Maryland.....	69
Massachusetts.....	83	Virginia.....	55
Rhode Island.....	2	North Carolina.....	196
Connecticut.....	14	South Carolina.....	32
New York.....	57	Georgia.....	2
New Jersey.....	7	The West.....	233
Total.....	950		

By 1850 the number of academies in the United States had increased to 6,085.² These varied widely in numbers of teachers, pupils, and resources. They also differed from one another very markedly in worth and dignity,—some being merely ephemeral and local in character, while others were strong, healthy, and widely influential. The following table shows their status in 1850.²

STATE	NO. OF ACADAMIES	NO. OF TEACHERS	NO. OF PUPILS	ANNUAL APPROX- IMATE INCOME
Alabama.....	166	380	8,290	\$ 224,279
Arkansas.....	90	126	2,407	34,308
California.....	6	6	170	20,392
Columbia, Dist. of.....	47	126	2,333	84,040
Connecticut.....	202	329	6,996	152,120
Delaware.....	65	94	2,011	53,498
Florida.....	34	49	1,251	22,742
Georgia.....	219	318	9,059	184,849
Illinois.....	83	160	4,244	47,678
Indiana.....	131	233	6,185	73,219
Iowa.....	33	46	1,111	11,180
Kentucky.....	330	600	12,712	306,507
Louisiana.....	143	354	5,328	283,003
Maine.....	131	232	6,648	64,966
Maryland.....	223	503	10,787	239,083
Massachusetts.....	403	521	13,436	354,521
Michigan.....	37	71	1,619	31,953
Minnesota.....	1	1	12	

¹ Hinsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 1252 ff.

² Dexter, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

STATE	NO. OF ACADEMIES	NO. OF TEACHERS	NO. OF PUPILS	ANNUAL APPROX- IMATE INCOME
Mississippi.....	171	297	6,628	\$ 144,732
Missouri.....	204	368	8,829	183,403
New Hampshire.....	107	183	5,321	52,391
New Jersey.....	225	453	9,844	300,242
New Mexico.....	1	1	40	
New York.....	887	3,136	49,328	1,015,249
North Carolina.....	272	403	7,822	222,695
Ohio.....	206	474	15,052	201,077
Oregon.....	29	44	842	24,495
Pennsylvania.....	524	914	23,751	570,501
Rhode Island.....	46	75	1,601	37,423
South Carolina.....	202	333	7,467	205,489
Tennessee.....	264	404	9,928	175,926
Texas.....	97	137	3,389	77,732
Utah.....	13			2,221
Vermont.....	118	257	6,864	56,159
Virginia.....	317	547	9,068	351,007
Wisconsin.....	58	86	2,723	19,899
Total.....	6,085	12,260	263,096	\$5,831,179

The usual age at which pupils entered these academies was, on the average, about nine years; but oftentimes children of seven were found in them.¹

Meanwhile, down to 1824 the old New England Latin school continued to decline. In that year Massachusetts by law freed all towns having less than five thousand inhabitants from the obligation of maintaining a public secondary school. Only seven towns in the state contained a population in excess of this number, and thus, legally, there were only seven public high schools required in the whole Commonwealth. Fortunately several other towns legally exempt felt the moral obligation and continued their schools in existence.

The town grammar or Latin school of 1647 had thus gradually deteriorated in character, dignity, and popular interest until in 1824 in Massachusetts its place was taken legally (save in seven towns) by a short-term, inferior, elementary school. These elementary schools,

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

moreover, were no longer, in many instances, town schools, but schools that were held and supported by small sections or districts of the town acting independently of each other. We have seen, too, that the fate of the secondary schools of Massachusetts was, in its general features, not different from that of similar schools in the other New England states. Everywhere in America at this time free, public, secondary education had almost reached the vanishing point. Fortunately, however, at this critical stage new forces brought about a reaction in the sentiments of the people and the legislation of the governing bodies. In 1826 by a new law Massachusetts again required towns of five hundred families to maintain high schools, and, in towns of four thousand inhabitants, the high school was required to offer instruction in the classical languages. In 1827 a second law provided that all support for public schools should come from public taxation. In 1834 the state school fund was established.

In the meantime the expression "grammar school" had changed its significance and now came to designate the school that offered the work formerly given by the "reading school" and the "writing school"; that is, the grammar-school work followed the veriest elementary or primary instruction, and corresponded, in general, to the work of the last four grades of our present elementary schools. School work carried on beyond this stage—if not pursued in the Latin school or the academy—was followed in a new type of educational institution called the high school.¹ Here again, as in so many other innovations in the field of education in America, Boston first set up the model. This was in 1821, when the city established what was called the English Classical School, or the Boys' English High School.

¹ How the term "high school" came to be used is given by Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

The program of studies was planned for three years' work and was to be entirely prescribed. The school¹ was open only to boys who had attained the age of twelve years and who could successfully pass the admission examinations set in reading, writing, English grammar, and arithmetic. Only teachers who had "been regularly educated at some university" were given positions in the school. The aim of the school was not to fit boys for college, but merely to give a more extensive and better preparation for practical life to those whose circumstances permitted or whose ambitions led them to spend in study another three years beyond the grammar school. The school at first was not largely attended. During the first four years the number entering during any one year did not exceed one hundred and thirty-five.²

In 1825, in response to a popular request that high-school training be furnished the girls as well as the boys, the School Committee established a Girls' English High School. The response was phenomenal and surprising. The first year two hundred and eighty-six girls made application for admission—a number beyond the capacity of the school building to house and for whom the resources of the treasury were inadequate to provide. One hundred and thirty were admitted. The following year a much larger number sought the privileges of the school, and the embarrassment of the authorities was increased. Various plans were proposed and tried in order to solve the problem, but with little success. No relief appeared the third year, and in 1828 the Girls' High School was abolished. The branches of study offered in the Girls' High School were, however, now incorporated in the work of the various grammar schools of the city—

¹ The provisions for this school as made in the Report of the School Committee at the time are quoted in detail by Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 298 ff.

² Josiah Quincy, *Municipal History of Boston*, pp. 22 ff.

a policy which in effect really converted these schools into coeducational high schools or quasi high schools. This was the first — though unpremeditated — movement to enrich the work of the elementary schools and to make them something more than mere training places in the school arts. No more was done in Boston in the way of providing secondary education for girls until 1852, when a new movement set in and another and improved high school for girls was established.

The program of study in the Girls' High School of Boston, in 1826, was planned to cover three years' work. In general the curriculum was inflexible, though there were, besides the required course, certain subjects "allowed" to be pursued by such girls as showed a proficiency that would merit the "reward." The complete program of study in the Girls' High School in 1826 was as follows:

FIRST YEAR¹

Required subjects: 1, Reading; 2, Spelling; 3, Writing words and sentences from dictation; 4, English Grammar with exercises in the same; 5, Composition; 6, Modern and Ancient Geography; 7, Intellectual and Written Arithmetic; 8, Rhetoric; 9, History of the United States. Allowed subjects: Logic or Botany.

SECOND YEAR

Required: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8, continued; 10, Bookkeeping by single entry; 11, Elements of Geometry; 12, Natural Philosophy; 13, General History; 14, History of English; 15, Paley's Natural Theology. Allowed: Logic, Botany, Demonstrative Geometry, Algebra, Latin or French.

THIRD YEAR

Required: 1, 5, 12, 15, continued; 16, Astronomy; 17, Treatise on the Globes; 18, Chemistry; 19, History of Greece; 20, History of Rome; 21, Paley's Moral Philosophy; 22, Paley's Evidences of Christianity. Allowed: Logic, Algebra, Principles of Perspective, the Projection of Maps, Botany, Latin or French.

¹ *Am. Jour. of Ed.*, Vol. 13, p. 243. The program is quoted from the circulars issued by the School Committee at the time. The figures refer to the numbers of the courses.

It is interesting to compare with this program of studies the one provided for the Boys' High School in 1821, and to note that considerable differentiation is made between the work outlined in the two schools. The following is the program for the boys' school:¹

THE STUDIES OF THE FIRST CLASS

Composition; Reading from the most approved authors; Exercises in Criticism: Comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors and beauties; Declamation; Geography; Arithmetic continued.

THE STUDIES OF THE SECOND CLASS

Composition [cont.]; Reading [cont.]; Exercises in Criticism [cont.]; Declamation [cont.]; Algebra [cont.]; Ancient and Modern History and Chronology; Logic; Geometry; Plane Trigonometry, and its application to mensuration of Heights and Distances; Navigation; Surveying; Mensuration of Superficies and Solids; Forensic Discussions.

THE STUDIES OF THE THIRD CLASS

Composition [cont.]; Exercises in Criticism [cont.]; Declamation [cont.]; Mathematics [cont.]; Logic [cont.]; History, particularly that of the United States [cont.]; Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy; Moral and Political Philosophy.

The program of studies for the Boston Latin School for this same period differs but little from what had been offered there from its foundation. The course was now five years in length, and the work pursued was as follows:²

FIRST YEAR

Adam's Latin Grammar and the Liber Primus.

SECOND YEAR

Graecia Historiae Epitome; Viri Romae; Phaedri Fabulae (Burman's text, with English notes); Cornelius Nepos; Ovid's

¹ Taken from the Report of the School Committee made in 1821, and quoted by Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

² Taken from Mr. B. A. Gould's account of the school when he was head master there, about 1824. Excerpts of this account are given by Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 *ff.*, from which I have quoted.

Metamorphoses (by Willymotte); (Scansion, rules of prosody, "capping verses," etc.); Valpy's Chronology of Ancient and English History; Dana's Latin Tutor (for composition); Tooke's Pantheon.

THIRD YEAR

Greek Grammar; Caesar's Commentaries; Electa ex Ovidio et Tibullo; Delectus Sententiarum Graecarum; Col. Gr. Minora, Sallust, Virgil (written translations in English).

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS

Latin Tutor, continued; followed by Valpy's *Elegantiae Latinae*; Bradley's Prosody. Cicero's Select Orations, *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*, and *De Amicitia*; Horace Exp.; Juvenal and Persius Expur.; Greek Primitives; Xenophon's *Anabasis*; Maittaire's Homer; Greek Testament; Wytttenbach's *Greek Historiana*; Geography (Worcester's); Arithmetic (Colburn, Lecroix); Geometry (Euclid); Trigonometry, and its uses; Algebra (Euler); Greek Exercises (Neilson's).¹

In pre-Revolutionary days the Latin-school course required ordinarily seven years for its completion. In 1789 it was reduced to four years in Massachusetts, and the minimum age of admission was made ten years. In 1823 the course was increased to five years and the age limit fixed at nine. In 1860 the course was increased to six years, and the minimum age limit was again placed at ten years. These are the conditions to-day.

The curricula of the academies during this same general period differed somewhat with different institutions. Most of these schools had two departments or courses of study—the Latin and the English. In the better class of academies Latin still continued to constitute the backbone of the work, and the other subjects were made subordinate to it. If one recalls that up to the year 1800 no college in America required for admission any

¹ Dr. Brown states that the following books were in use in addition to those given in the curriculum: Schrevilin's *Greek Lexicon*, Hedericus, *Scapula*, Morell's *Thesaurus*, Walker's *Classical Key*, Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, and Bntick's and Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary*. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 278, note.

subjects save Latin, Greek, and arithmetic,¹ and that from 1800 to 1860 only five² other subjects were added to the list of college requirements, one can get a fairly accurate notion of what work was included in the college preparatory or Latin course of the academies.

"But the notable thing about the academies as distinguished from the grammar (Latin) schools, was that they went on adding subjects to this program at their own sweet will, wholly regardless of what the colleges were doing. Sometimes they brought subjects down from the college course; sometimes they took subjects which the most of the colleges did not touch."³ The English course in these schools, therefore, ranged from very elementary branches up to and beyond the limits of higher education. In some, even at an early date, modern foreign language was studied—a subject unheard of in most quarters at the time.

The program of study in the Phillips academies was doubtless superior in scope and application to that of the majority of the secondary schools of this period. Still it furnishes a good illustration of the ideals that were set by the more worthy academies, and for purposes of comparison may be taken as a type. The full program of studies offered at Phillips Exeter in 1818 was as follows:⁴

CLASSICAL DEPARTMENT

FOR THE FIRST YEAR

Adam's Latin Grammar; Liber Primus, or a similar work; Viri Romani, or Caesar's Commentaries; Latin Prosody; Exercises in Reading and making Latin; Ancient and Modern Geography; Virgil and Arithmetic.

¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

² These subjects, with the dates of their first appearance in the list of requirements for any college, are geography, 1807; English grammar, 1819; algebra, 1820; geometry, 1844; ancient history, 1847. See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-2.

³ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁴ Bell, *Phillips Exeter Academy*, pp. 93-94. The courses are quoted by Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-8.

FOR THE SECOND YEAR

Virgil; Arithmetic and exercises in Reading and making Latin, continued; Valpy's Greek Grammar; Roman History; Cicero's Select Orations; Delectus; Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Minora*; Greek Testament; English Grammar and Declamation.

FOR THE THIRD YEAR

The same Latin and Greek authors in revision; English Grammar and Declamation continued; Sallust; Algebra; Exercises in English and Latin translations, and Composition.

FOR THE ADVANCED CLASS

Collectanea Graeca Majora; Q. Horatius Flaccus; Titus Livius; Parts of Terence's Comedies; *Excerpta Latina*, or such Latin and Greek authors as may best comport with the student's future distinction; Algebra; Geometry; Elements of Ancient History; Adam's Roman Antiquities, etc.

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

For admission into this department the candidate must be at least twelve years of age,¹ and must have been well instructed in Reading and Spelling; familiarity with Arithmetic through simple proportion with the exception of Fractions, with Murray's English Grammar through Syntax, and must be able to parse simple English sentences.

The following is the course of instruction and study in the English Department, which, with special exceptions, will comprise three years.

FOR THE FIRST YEAR

English Grammar including exercises in Reading, in Parsing, and in Analyzing, in the correction of bad English; Punctuation and Prosody; Arithmetic; Geography, and Algebra through simple Equations.

FOR THE SECOND YEAR

English Grammar continued; Geometry; Plane Trigonometry and its applications to heights and distances; mensuration of Sup. and Sol.; Elements of Ancient History; Logic; Rhetoric; English Composition; Declamation and exercises of the Forensic kind.

¹ It will be recalled that in many academies youths were admitted at seven years of age, and that the most usual age on entrance averaged about nine years. Phillips Exeter therefore had higher entrance requirements than most academies.

FOR THE THIRD YEAR

Surveying; Navigation; Elements of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, with experiments; Elements of Modern History, particularly of the United States; Moral and Political Philosophy, with English Composition, Forensics, and Declamation continued.

In no school of secondary rank — whether grammar school or academy — was any illustrative apparatus used before 1798. The first pieces consisted of globes, prospect glasses, and microscopes. There were no laboratories before 1824, nor any experiments or demonstrations before the class before this date, save perchance of very simple phenomena and with very simple contrivances. Even in the English high schools and the English departments of the academies little effort was made to vitalize the work and make it connect intimately with life and life processes. School work was still pretty largely a task that had to be performed under stern, rigid, and close voluntary concentration. Memory still bore the burden of training, and slight effort was made to attract through the inherent interest of the subject-matter, interestingly presented.

The revival of public secondary education that started in Boston in 1821 soon spread to other cities beyond the confines of that Commonwealth. In 1838 Philadelphia established her Central High School with three courses of study,—the English Course of two years, the Modern Language Course of four years, and the Classical Course of four years.¹ In 1839 Baltimore, Maryland, and Charleston, South Carolina, each erected city high schools. Providence, Rhode Island, entered the field in 1843, and Hartford, Connecticut, in 1847. In 1848 New York City established what she called a Free Academy.

¹ Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 171, states that before 1840 six other towns besides Boston had established high schools. These were Portland, Me., 1821; Worcester, Mass., 1824; New Bedford, Mass., 1827; Cambridge, Mass., 1838; Taunton, Mass., 1838; Philadelphia, Pa., 1839.

To all intents and purposes this was a public high school, but the institution soon developed into a school of higher rank and in 1866 took the name of "The College of the City of New York."

From now on the public high-school movement went steadily forward.¹ Just how many free public high schools there were before the Civil War is a question on which there is considerable difference of opinion. As has been pointed out, many academies were regarded both by their founders and by their constituencies as public secondary schools, and certain it is many of them did in fact, if not in name, fill this function. Consequently, in compiling the figures, discrepancies are bound to arise. One authority says that in 1851 eighty cities in America possessed public high schools!² In 1855 it is asserted Massachusetts alone had sixty-four such schools.³ In 1856 Ohio had ninety-seven.⁴ Other states possessed proportionate numbers. Yet, on the other hand, Dr. Harris has held that in the whole United States in 1860 there were only forty free public schools worthy the name "high school."⁵ Evidently the number is dependent upon the critical judgment of the individual who sifts the evidence and the data. Certain it is, however, that down to 1850 or 1860 the academies largely controlled secondary education in America, and that by far the greatest numbers of pupils pursuing secondary education were enrolled in them.

The period from 1750 to 1850 may thus well be considered a transition period in the history of secondary education in the United States. So long as the people

¹ Before 1850 we find the following schools, among others: New Orleans, 1843; Cleveland, 1846; Cincinnati, 1847; Toledo, 1849.

² Barney, *Report on the American System*, p. 5.

³ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

⁴ Taylor, *Ohio School System*, p. 409.

⁵ *Proc. N.E.A.*, 1901, pp. 174-180.

in New England were nearly homogeneous in nationality, in religious beliefs, in social ideals and industrial ambitions, the old Latin school served their needs and served them moderately well. With the changed physical and social environment and conditions that appeared incipiently before the year 1700 there came also a change in the spiritual and intellectual ideals and in the educational motives. The old school plan began to break down. The influx of new immigrants who had been brought up under a different code of religion and law, who had passed through less strenuous struggles for group preservation, brought into influence a faction that had little interest in the traditions and institutions of the earlier settlers. Nor did the second and third generations of children of the rigid old Puritans appreciate, as did their fathers, the civil and ecclesiastical necessities of a liberal education. A secular spirit and ambition seized upon the land, and the hopes of immediate material and individual aggrandizement took the place of the high social ideals that dominated in the earlier days.

But perhaps more powerful than any other agency in bringing about these changed ideals and efforts were the colonial wars which culminated finally in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Following in the train of each of these came violent religious dissensions and a diminution of faith in the orthodox creed. What injured the mother was bound also to affect the child. The old Latin school was in fact a church school—yes, a school of the Congregational denomination. Now new religious sects arose; the old social homogeneity dissolved; the Latin school, neglected during the strife of opinions, was abandoned nearly to its death.

Out of this changed and heterodox condition—a condition different materially, socially, politically, religiously,

and ideally,—arose the academies. Here was one institution in which men could coöperate with mutual good will, and on a nearly equal footing. Here, indeed, religion formed a basic principle, but not a creedal one. Here differences of all kinds could be merged and could yield to a common ideal. For approximately one hundred years, therefore, the academies served as the strongest tie to bind all the people together in harmony. Here was again taught the art of living together—here was preserved the germ of social solidarity or unity. When, following the French Revolution, democratic and heretical theories were running wild, the academies checked the dissolving tendencies and preserved the continuity of the religious, the political, and the educational traditions.

By 1840 the height of the decentralizing tendencies was reached. Then came the general reaction, which in places had already begun, and out of the new conditions was evolved the public high school. Its later history is reserved for other chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY NORTHWEST¹

NOT fewer than seven sovereign powers have claimed control over all or parts of the old Northwest Territory—that territory lying north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi now included within the boundaries of the United States. Nor does this boast of sovereignty take into account the fact that an equally valid case might be presented on behalf of numerous Indian tribes whose authority in this region was for years unshaken though not unquestioned. The statement has reference only to nations and divisions of the Caucasian race.

In the earlier days of the seventeenth century, when the courts of the Bourbons exerted the dominant influence in world affairs — when the absolutism of Louis XIII and Louis XIV not only controlled France but set the example for like despotism in numerous other quarters; when the keenness of French ministers and the aggressiveness and fearlessness of Jesuit priests were affecting policies of State and Church in all parts of the world — it was very natural that at least certain portions of the New World should be brought within the scope of French influences. Then it was that the St. Lawrence River region and the Great Lakes district of America were first penetrated by adventurous soldiers and pious missionaries, and these lands and waters, forests and plains, were first brought

¹ For much of the material herein employed I am indebted to the following treatises: Howe, *Ohio*; Taylor, *Manual of Ohio School System*; Hinsdale, *Schools in the Western Reserve*; Coggeshill, *System of Common Schools in Ohio*; Woodburn, *Higher Education in Indiana*; Willard, *History of Education in Illinois*; and others.

under the flag of France. For a hundred years these hardy subjects and unofficial representatives of the Louises were the only white men to enter this distant and almost unknown territory. The persons of historical renown, however, who traversed these wilds of an earlier day are numerous. Cartier, Champlain, Charlevoix, Frontenac, La Salle, Marquette, Hennepin, Joliet, Cadillac, and Tonti are well-known characters in the history of this region. French settlements or trading posts were early to be found at points on or near the sites of what are now Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, Green Bay, Chicago, St. Joseph, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and other towns. Wherever the topography offered natural advantages for defense or for trade, there French settlers were to be found at a comparatively early day. Before the Pilgrim Fathers had stepped out on Plymouth Rock the French were making explorations in what is now Canada and Maine, and long before the close of the seventeenth century they had sailed up the St. Lawrence, had crossed to the upper lake region, had floated down the tributaries of the Mississippi and the great river itself, and had taken nominal possession of these regions in the name of the French nation.

All this was happening nearly a full hundred years before the English, situated on the Atlantic coast, had advanced to the summit of the Alleghenies. Nor did the French attempt to move eastward from the Mississippi to these mountains until well into the eighteenth century. The two nations were therefore separated by a wide expanse of wild, rugged, and untouched land made more or less unapproachable from either side by difficult mountain ranges, dark and tangled forests, and lurking enemies—both Indians and wild beasts.

Nevertheless an inevitable conflict was approaching.

Since the days of the Norman Conquest in 1066 a natural and national jealousy had existed between England and France. The territorial, personal, commercial, political, and religious rivalries in Europe had for centuries brought the two powers into an intermittent struggle for supremacy. The discovery of the western world introduced one more cause for strife. The prize now was no longer petty shires, counties, and kingdoms, but a whole continent. For a hundred years neither party seems to have appreciated its value, and consequently both had neglected to take advantage of the opportunity offered. Nearly simultaneously, however, each nation awoke to the conscious recognition of the importance of the stake and straightway set out to possess itself of it. Another hundred years' war ensued, broken only by periods of insincere truces and of professed inactivities. The climax came, however, in 1763, when by the Treaty of Paris France was utterly and permanently eliminated as a power from the western hemisphere. From this date until 1783 England held undisputed the whole eastern half of the continent north of Florida. She was thus the second ruler of the Northwest Territory.

Another change came with the close of the Revolutionary War. When at that time England surrendered to the thirteen states all her possessions south of Canada, a new difficulty arose. Since 1763 seven of the thirteen states had claimed control over portions of the uninhabited districts to the westward. The claimant states were those whose boundary lines had been made more or less indefinite by their charters, or whose titles were based on treaties with the Indian tribes. Naturally in many instances these claims conflicted and overlapped each other. In particular, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia each presented documentary evidence to show

that all, or part, of the old Northwest belonged to her. Even before the close of the Revolutionary War disputes respecting this land question and its adjustment had caused no small amount of jealousy and friction. However the more wise and sane councils prevailed, and each claimant agreed to surrender her rights and jurisdiction to the control of the general government. Thus, beginning with 1780 and continuing until 1802,¹ one state after another yielded her traditional claims with certain minor reservations and conditions. This was the beginning of the national domain, and from now on, until the different sections were organized and admitted into the Union as equal states, the Northwest was completely under the control of the central authority.

Thus the old Northwest was successively subject, or jointly subject, to control by the following powers: the Indian tribes, particularly the Iroquois Nation; the French; the British; the sovereign states of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York; the Federal government, and, finally, the Federal states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, together with Minnesota in respect to a small tract.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that as early as 1787 an English settlement had been made in the Northwest Territory at Marietta, Ohio. Other immigrants soon followed, and despite the hardships of frontier life, despite the ever-present dangers of attacks from Indians and wild animals, despite the threatening aspect of England which, in disregard of the terms of the treaty of 1783, refused to give possession of the military posts in this region—despite all these adverse conditions, from now on hordes of immigrants streamed into this distant,

¹ Chase, *History of Ohio*, p. 22; also Johnston, *History of the United States*, p. 174.

but fertile, region. There were, moreover, other factors conspiring to foster this westward movement, and these in particular have exerted a mighty influence on the educational history of the territory.

The Revolutionary War left the central government heavily in debt and with no efficient means of collecting, through taxation, funds with which to meet these obligations. Owing, however, to the cessions of lands by the various states, the central government had at its disposal what then seemed almost inexhaustible quantities of unsurveyed, uninhabited, and unassigned farming tracts. Here, it was seen, was a source of wealth; here was a means for replenishing the treasury and for meeting the current and past expenses of the government. All that was wanting were the purchasers, and it was thought these could be secured. It was decided to throw open these lands to settlers at prices so low and on conditions so favorable that any thrifty citizen would be attracted by the offer. The plan succeeded to an extent far beyond the expectations of the veriest seer of the age, nor can we say that the policy thus begun has yet come to an end.

The first settlers to the Northwest were not foreigners from European states, but were the vigorous and hardy citizens from the Atlantic coast—more particularly from New England and New York. Later, it is true, the South and Southeast furnished large numbers of immigrants to Indiana and Illinois, but this was not the case with the rest of the territory. The settlers from New England, however brave and ready to face the material and physical difficulties that lay before them in the Northwest, did nevertheless hesitate to be cut off from spiritual and intellectual sustenance. Their forefathers were the Puritans who had migrated to America to secure for themselves the blessings of toleration in religion and of freedom in

government. They had also come to this country to enjoy liberty of thought and to develop, unhampered, civil, religious, and educational ideals. For these principles they had been willing to fight, to bleed, and, if necessary, to die. Their posterity, though perhaps of a less serious temperament than their fathers, and with religious and literary aspirations perhaps not always so lofty and fixed, were nevertheless at heart imbued with the same traditions, ambitions, and principles. The backwoods of the Ohio Valley might furnish equal opportunities for freedom of thought, religion, and government, but they could not furnish opportunity for the same intellectual development as could the East. The American people as a whole have always stood in more fear of ignorance and illiteracy than they have of Satan, despotism, poverty, and physical dangers. Indeed, they have always gone on the assumption that the banishment of the two former foes is equivalent to the overthrow of the four latter. History seems, too, to be justifying their faith.

In order, therefore, to make the western lands doubly attractive and to encourage the migration thither of the most desirable classes of citizens, the central government, in the two famous ordinances mentioned in the last chapter,¹ provided not only that the lands should be offered at a low price, not only that the settlers should forever be guaranteed the operation of sound principles of government and of civil liberty, but above and beyond these that they and their posterity should forever enjoy the equal spiritual and intellectual advantages possessed by the rest of the nation. To this end the government, before disposing of these lands, made provision for the careful survey of the whole region and dedicated the

¹ Chapter II, p. 47.

sixteenth section of each and every township to the support and maintenance of schools. Likewise, too, it set aside a similar section in each township—sometimes the ninth, sometimes the eighteenth, and sometimes the twenty-ninth—to the support and maintenance of religion and the church. The growing diversity of sects, the interdenominational jealousies, and the increased secular spirit soon revealed the fact that, however closely a community might be welded into a unity for harmonious and concerted action respecting education, the same was not true, and at that particular time at least could not be true, respecting religion. Consequently the sections of public land dedicated to the cause of religion were a source of local jealousy and contention rather than of conciliation and solidification. The clauses in the land ordinances granting these sections to the church may have aided in furthering migration, but the lands were never administered as advantageously as were the lands dedicated to the schools. The result was that there never was formed, and never could have been formed, a permanent church fund, the interest from which was to be inviolably devoted to the support of religion as such. In time Congress annulled its former ordinances respecting this phase of its grants, nor did it ever reincorporate the principle in later provisions concerning the public lands.

As each portion of the Northwest was organized into a territory and later into a state, Congress, in addition to the other school grants, dedicated one entire township in each territory for the support of a seminary of learning or a university. In some instances two whole townships instead of one were allotted. These gifts became the nuclei out of which arose the state universities and the system of free higher education now found in many parts of the Union.

As already indicated, all these government grants of land were made with the primary and immediate purpose of attracting settlers to the West, in order that funds might be raised with which to meet the obligations of the government. Another motive that the government had was to fortify the Northwest against English ambition by attracting to this region sufficient people to insure successful resistance to any perfidious attempt that might be made to reconquer it. As time went on, and England made no movement toward withdrawing from the military posts here, suspicion became more and more pronounced that she never intended to abide by the terms of the treaty of 1783, and that she waited only for a favorable opportunity to regain full and absolute possession of the whole district. Indeed, between 1783 and 1815 the British flag floated over this territory more than half the time, and this occurred despite the fact that the actual period of avowed war during that time was only three years.¹ Later events in history seem to have corroborated the suspicions of Congress and the public. The War of 1812 was to a large degree a struggle for this territory, nor was there ever any true political freedom here until the Treaty of Ghent in 1815.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided that not fewer than three or more than five states² should be formed from the Northwest Territory. Acting on this principle, Congress began in 1800 to divide the district. In that year Ohio was organized as a separate territory and the remainder of the land was termed Indiana. In 1805 Michigan Territory was separated from this on the north, and in 1809 Illinois was set off from it on the west.

¹ For this thought and many others in this chapter, I am indebted to Hinsdale's *The Old Northwest*.

² Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Some years later, in 1836, Wisconsin was made into the fifth territory. Here the division ended.¹

We have already seen that the first educational land grants made by Congress were made directly to the inhabitants of the several townships, to be administered by them as they collectively might deem wise, conditioned only by the requirement that they be devoted to the support of schools of that particular township. Unfortunately, the early settlers of Ohio had no precedents or experience to guide them in the exercise of this power, and as a consequence there was mismanagement, waste, and loss on every side. Owing partially to this fact and partially to the principle embodied in the letter of the law itself, there was developed in Ohio no feeling of state pride in education and no interest in a state-wide school system. Indeed, in many townships the common-school funds² were entirely dissipated, and the districts or townships were left with no source of school revenue save that of direct local taxation. This method, hated and opposed by the many enlightened communities, is especially obnoxious to pioneer and struggling settlers. Naturally, then, one need not expect to find the early immigrants in the Northwest voluntarily rising to heights of deferred statecraft such as philosophers might teach. Nor indeed will one so find them. Education in Ohio, therefore, did not keep pace with the high ideals set by the leaders. Schools were left pretty largely to the organization, administration, and control of various religious denominations, or of private or local associations, even well down into the nineteenth century.

¹ As is well known, a small portion of the old Northwest Territory was added to the present state of Minnesota. However, only five complete states were organized from the Northwest Territory, so the statement above is substantially correct.

² It is probable the expression, "common schools," arose from some such wording as this. These funds were dedicated to schools that were to serve all in the district in common, equally.

By means of the government grant for a central academy or college of higher learning, Ohio did establish a State University at Athens, and this enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity and honor even during its earlier history. The story of most of the other early public schools of the state is not gratifying.

In 1803 Ohio was admitted into the Union as a state. The constitution which at this time was accepted as the fundamental state law contained the declaration that "schools and the means of instruction should be forever encouraged by the legislative power, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience."¹ As a matter of fact, even this vague and general provision went almost unheeded for nearly twenty years. Until 1821 there were, "save in the most enterprising towns," no schools whatever in the state.² In 1806 a law had been passed providing for the organization of certain school districts and for the care of the school funds arising from the disposal of the sixteenth section and other sources, but this affected few. In 1821 a similar law was enacted for the whole state. It authorized the election of local school officers, who were empowered to organize the district, assess taxes, erect school buildings, and employ teachers. It was, however, wholly permissive in its provisions and hence was of little value. Experience has shown over and over again that legislation of this character sits but lightly upon the minds and consciences of people whose immediate dominant interests are seemingly best served by neglecting and ignoring its recommendations.

However, some progress was being made. The next year, in 1822, a Commission of Seven was appointed to

¹ Coggeshill, "System of Common Schools in Ohio," in *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 6, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*

investigate and to report a plan for a complete state school system. This Commission reported in 1824, and the next year a bill was presented and passed which created such a system. This law was to be mandatory over the whole state and provided for a tax for school purposes of one half mill on all assessable property. But the idea was not well received, and though the law was bolstered by other supplementary acts, the state-wide public-school system did not become efficient until 1836.¹

The early school history of Indiana is not much different from that we have just sketched. Here the French had obtained a foothold in the seventeenth century and a few weak schools had been established in their settlements. When the territory was organized in 1800 Congress granted the prospective state two townships of land for a university and the customary sixteenth section for common schools. In 1806 the territorial legislature created the Vincennes University, which was to be supported out of the funds arising from the disposal of the university lands. This school was opened in 1810, but had a poor start and a precarious existence. The funds were neglected or wrongly administered, and after a few years of doubtful promise the institution went into a decline from which it never recovered. Nominally it was a public school, but it received no government aid save the land grant, and was finally abandoned by the state in 1824.² Later, it is true, it was resurrected, and continued to play a part in the educational history of the state, but its later changes have no essential interest for our present study.

Theoretically and ideally Indiana started her career as a state with provisions for a system of education that had few equals and no superiors in the world. Her

¹ Coggeshill, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

² Woodburn, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

constitution, adopted in 1816 when the territory was admitted into the Union, contained the following significant clauses:

"Knowledge and learning generally diffused throughout a community being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the general assembly to provide by law for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this state for the use of schools."¹ Another clause then provides that these lands should not be sold prior to 1820 — the state having taken a lesson apparently from Ohio and from its own territorial experiences.

Again we read: "The general assembly shall from time to time pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvements."

It is true these are rather indefinite and high-sounding generalities and might have signified little real intent or purpose, but they are supplemented by another, a most ambitious and praiseworthy section. It reads: "It shall be the duty of the general assembly as soon as circumstances will permit to provide by law for a general system of education ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."²

One searches in vain for a loftier ideal of education anywhere expressed in the constitution or laws of any other state or country. Here in the backwoods, nearly one hundred years ago, was announced not only an

¹ Quoted by Woodburn, *ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

aspiration but an avowed state policy that few states in America and few, if any, states or countries outside America have reached in practice to this day. Here was authorized a system of education that had no breaks or gaps throughout its extent and hence called for no mechanical schemes of articulation or correlation. It was to be an organic whole, and in the terms of the constitution it anticipated by fifty years Huxley's vision of an educational ladder which reaches from the gutter to the university. It is true, indeed, that educational history is replete with references to isolated educational leaders and reformers who have pitched educational theory and practice to as high a key, but history does not reveal, I think, the like of a whole convention of pioneers giving expression to a piece of wisdom so lofty. Alas that it should have remained so long only a recommendation, or at most only an unenforced dictum or decree!

This constitutional plan was doubtless impossible of realization anywhere in the Northwest at the time. Though the electors of Indiana approved the constitution and adopted it as the binding fundamental law of their commonwealth, still the advanced views embodied in the sections on education do not represent the true feeling and aspirations of the people as a whole. Most of the settlers of this region, says Woodburn, were poor, ignorant, indifferent, self-satisfied, lazy, and slovenly.¹

They adopted the constitution as a matter of course; the ideals therein set forth were far beyond their comprehension or desires. In consequence Indiana's public schools, instead of approaching an advanced standard, were far behind the actual conditions found in some other parts of the Union. Indeed, it was not until after the constitution was revised in 1851 that Indiana had any

¹ Woodburn, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

actual common-school system at all, and in the meantime general education was at such low ebb that the schools furnished a theme for ridicule even by her own writers.¹ Since that time the state has made a most remarkable advance in every field of education, but this recent history does not rightly belong to our present discussion.

Nevertheless the legislature did not wholly neglect its duty. The same year Indiana was admitted to the Union a law was enacted providing that any township might, on the petition of twenty householders, elect three trustees who in turn might take steps to supply school instruction. Few townships took advantage of the permission. In 1821 a serious attempt was made to establish a state-wide school system. A Commission was appointed to draft a plan and, acting on its recommendations, the legislature again enacted a law providing for permissive township schools. Still, few were opened, and all that were established were supported by tuition fees, called "rates." In 1833 county school commissioners were authorized, and in 1837 other changes were made in the school law, but, as we have stated, with little result.

As a general thing, life in the Northwest during these early days was too strenuously spent in making a bare living to have much spirit or energy for what was termed "schooling." The boys could better devote their time to assisting in the manual work which everywhere was necessary. The few pieces of money that came, with hardship, into the pioneer's hands could better be devoted to something more immediately satisfying than the securing of an education for his children. Book learning was a luxury which, however desirable in itself, must be foregone until more favorable days should arrive.

¹ One recalls in this connection Edward Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*.

Indeed, there was excuse and justification for this attitude on the part of many. Communities were poor. Often, too, owing to an insufficiency of wholesome, nourishing food and to an excess of prolonged, debilitating work, families were in a state of chronic ill health. Unsanitary and unhygienic conditions about the house were only too common. Fevers, agues, and other affections were frequent. Hard work and small returns were the common rule. Life was overburdened with natural cares without adding artificial cares. In the light of the actual conditions then existing the present generation is more justified in applauding what men did accomplish than in deploring and censuring. When the more favorable time came the men and the women of the Northwest arose in their strength and made good their promises.

All that has so far been mentioned respecting legislative provisions for public education has had reference almost solely to the primary or common-school system. Still, in the light of later history, a discussion of this phase of education is both justifiable and essential to the treatment of secondary education, since throughout the whole Northwest the high school came to be regarded, popularly and legally, as an organic part of the common-school system, and was made to conform to the general school law the same as was the veriest elementary school. We shall later have occasion to consider this matter more fully.

For a time, however, both in Indiana and in other portions of the Northwest, secondary education was provided in other ways. Obviously, if the high school is the product or an evolution of the elementary school, it was necessary first to establish the schools of this elementary character. Consequently the high school, as

such, does not appear in the Northwest until about the middle of the nineteenth century—the time when the common-school system had become thoroughly and legally established. In 1818 Indiana empowered her governor to appoint a seminary trustee in each county in the state, and authorized this officer to supervise the accumulation of a seminary fund and to loan this fund to the best and most lucrative advantage.¹ All moneys arising from the net balance of fines and forfeitures were dedicated to this cause. Apparently, however, no seminary was opened at this time.

In 1821 a private seminary that attracted considerable local attention was opened in Fayette County. Influenced by the success of this seminary, Union County shortly after this date applied to the legislature for a special charter allowing her to establish a county seminary. The request was granted, and the school was opened at Liberty in 1825.² Other counties soon followed the example, and in 1831 the legislature, by general law, authorized a seminary of this kind in every county.

Simultaneously there arose on all sides similar institutions called academies or institutes, that differed from seminaries chiefly in their legal foundations. These secured their charters through special legislative acts and not, like the seminaries, through the operation of the general laws. The academies or institutes, too, were generally fathered by towns, cities, or religious denominations rather than by the county. The first of these academies was established at Corydon in 1816. A second was founded at Aurora in 1823.³

In respect to seminaries and academies alike the expense for buildings, fuel, and furnishings was met by the County

¹ Woodburn, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Seminary Fund, while teachers' salaries were paid by means of rate bills. Many of these institutions of both types were ephemeral and weak, and shared the fate of their sister institutions of like grade throughout the Union. Others again were stable, strong, and effective, and filled a recognized social need. They served here, as elsewhere, to raise the standard of education; to furnish a training for teachers; to popularize the idea of universal education; and to meet a current demand at a time when the local civil authorities could not, or would not, make adequate provision for schools.

Up to 1850 twenty-four county seminaries had been established in Indiana and thirty-seven "seminaries in general,"—that is, academies or institutes. About this time the public union school and the public high school made their appearance in the state, and the seminaries and academies rapidly declined. Some were transformed and reorganized into colleges, others into technical schools, and others ceased to exist.¹

Despite the relatively large number of seminaries and academies, and notwithstanding the legal provisions for a system of elementary schools, education in Indiana during the first half of the nineteenth century remained, as we have hinted, deplorable indeed. In 1840 "only about one child in eight between five and fifteen is able to read."² There were in the state in this year, 273,784 children of the legal school age, and of these only 48,180 were in schools of any kind. As intimated above, the constitution of 1851 sought to correct the abuses and to reform the educational conditions. Among other clauses provision was made for conserving the permanent school fund, and to-day, as a result of wise administration, this

¹ Woodburn, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

amounts to considerably more than ten million dollars. In addition the laws of the state permit local authorities to levy a relatively large direct annual tax for school purposes, so that as a result of these revenues Indiana has at present a system of schools that approaches the ideal set for herself in the constitution of 1816—a system “ascending in regular gradation from the township school to a State University.”

The early history of education in Illinois is similar to that of Indiana and need not detain us long at this point. If social conditions were not conducive to systematic education in the latter state, they surely were not in the former. Here, too, in an early day the French had held sway and probably had had a meager school at Kaskaskia and perhaps at other posts. When the territory was thrown open to English settlers late in the eighteenth century the first immigrants were, as in Indiana, largely pioneers from the South Atlantic States who had found their way to these fertile prairies through the younger states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Many of the newcomers from these districts were of less stern stock than were the settlers from New England and the Middle States—less stern in moral fiber, in religious ideals, and in personal worth. Many of the early settlers of southern Indiana and southern Illinois were descendants of the “indentured servants” and the paroled prisoners who, in an earlier day, had constituted so large a class in certain sections of the South. Thrown on their own resources, and being of a shiftless and improvident nature both by heredity and social neglect, many of these poorer families had, by stress of economic conditions, been forced back from the more fertile and tillable lands near the coast and had taken up their abodes in the more distant frontiers of the region. Here land was cheaper

and likewise, for the most part, poorer. The combination of an improvident and shiftless family placed on a sterile or rugged farm does not yield a valuable product either in men or in produce. Poverty was a chronic complaint with most of these backwoodsmen, and the state of material want bred a spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction. Out from among these classes came many of the early settlers who migrated to the southern portions of Indiana and Illinois.¹ The inhabitants of the northern portions were of a different stock and temperament and came into these territories largely from Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania. Still, perhaps the predominating influence in those early days was exerted by the southern type of immigrant.

Social conditions being thus, one is not surprised to read that Illinois for many years passed through a vacillating school policy, and that she established a state educational system rather late in her history.

In the constitution under which the state was admitted to the Union in 1818 not one word respecting schools and education is to be found. Nor is there mention made of the subject in any of the territorial laws previous to this time.² The authorities seem to have gone on the theory that whatever education was needed in the territory could best be attended to, privately, by the families interested.

Nevertheless Illinois, like the other states, was granted by the Federal Government the sixteenth section of land for school purposes. To protect and conserve these lands the legislature in 1817 did enact a law that may be regarded as the first school law of the state. At the same

¹ It will be recalled that Abraham Lincoln was one such product of these conditions.

² Samuel Willard, "History of Education in Illinois" in the *15th Public School Report of Illinois*, for 1833 and 1834, p. CIX.

time the legislature incorporated two academies,—one at Edwardsville called the Madison Academy, and one at Carlyle called the Washington Academy.¹

In 1825 a "free-school" law was passed in which provision was made that one fiftieth of the net taxes of the state should be appropriated to education, but the following year the law was repealed. In 1829 the legislature "still further tinkered the school law in a small way, more completely making the creation of a school an affair of voluntary union or subscription. On this basis it remained till 1850."²

During this period, however, several "colleges" and seminaries were chartered, and the funds derived from the salt lands were distributed to them. Thus, although the state did not during all this time take an aggressive stand for popular education, opportunities for instruction were not entirely lacking. The more enterprising towns of course had their common schools, and the state as a whole was abundantly supplied with private and denominational academies and seminaries. Still, there was little system or unity found anywhere. Textbooks were scarce and of various authorship and publications. In 1835, for example, De Witt had but three spelling books to serve a class of thirty pupils.³ In the schools pupils of the same class made use of any text that by chance happened to be available or had been handed down by older children of the family or community. Some of the books most frequently found were: *The Pleasant Companion*; the New Testament; Murray's *English Reader*; and Murray's *Introduction*. These all served as readers. Occasionally copies of Weem's *Life of Marion*, and Weem's *Life of Washington* were used. The other

¹ *Ibid.*, p. CIX.

² *Ibid.*, p. CX.

³ *Ibid.*

more common works were Morse's *Geography*, Murray's or Kirkham's *Grammar*, and Pike's *Arithmetic*.¹

So far then as secondary education is concerned, down to 1850 none was given in Illinois save in connection with seminaries, academies, and colleges; and in the light of circumstantial evidence one can well believe that, generally, this was not of a high grade.

Although the title of this chapter hardly warrants the consideration here of the schools of Wisconsin, still, for the sake of convenience, we may speak briefly of them. This state did not pass through the prolonged and vicarious experiences that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois suffered. Of the five states that were made from the old Northwest Territory, Wisconsin was the last to be admitted into the Union.² It was settled largely by immigrants that were considerably unlike the early settlers of Indiana and Illinois, and, with numerous exceptions, not closely similar to those of Ohio and Michigan. Being a younger state, she profited immensely from the experiences of her neighbors, and thus was able to shape her educational policy so as to gain most of the advantages possessed by the older states and at the same time to avoid the mistakes and difficulties experienced by them. Suffice it for our purposes to say that from near the outset of her territorial history attention was given more or less systematically to the question of education and to schools.

¹ Willard *op. cit.*, p. CX.

² Wisconsin, became a state in 1848.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY MICHIGAN

THE early history of Michigan is not greatly dissimilar to that of the other states in the Northwest.¹ Here, too, the French obtained a foothold early in the seventeenth century. In fact, portions of Michigan were visited by the adventurous representatives of this nation earlier than was any other district in this part of the world. The routes of these explorers and priests lay through Canada westward of what is now Montreal and Quebec. Lake Huron and Lake Superior were therefore discovered prior to Lake Erie, and settlements were made at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac long before the English had set foot in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, or Wisconsin, and considerably previous to the French explorations there. Father Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin, and Joliet had opened regular courses or trails across Michigan as early as 1680. Cadillac established a post at Detroit in 1701. Until the close of the French and Indian War in 1763 these two allied peoples, the French and the Indians, were completely masters of the whole northwest region. With the results of that war and the subsequent changes of authority in the Northwest, we are already familiar. For some strange reason England, after the Peace of Paris in 1763, opposed the immediate colonization of the western territories and, by royal decree, forbade further migration into them. This order was not, however, obeyed. Nevertheless, until after the close of the Revolutionary

¹ For much of the thought incorporated in the early portion of this chapter I am indebted to various general and special histories which deal with this region — some of these are the works of Bancroft, McMaster, Cooley, Campbell, and Lanman — also to the Michigan Pioneer Collection Volumes.

War the westward movement had not reached beyond the Ohio River.

The Peace of 1763 eliminated one nation from the Northwest Territory; the Treaty of 1783 nominally banished another. There was only one other human contestant left — the Indian; and, truly, he was never permanently subdued until practically exterminated. Nevertheless the victories of Wayne in 1794 and 1795 brought him sufficiently under subjection to encourage migration, and from this date the Northwest rapidly developed.

But even with the French entirely ousted as a political power, the English nominally excluded, and the Indian temporarily conquered, not all enemies and dangers had disappeared. There were other perils before which any but strong hearts and steadfast spirits would have quailed. There were streams to cross, forests to clear, roads to make, and homes to build; there were wild animals to drive away and prowling Indians to watch; there was scantiness of food and clothing and a greater scantiness of mental nourishment; there were dangers from diseases common to all irregular and unhygienic modes of life and especially common to portions of the Northwest, owing to the low elevations of land and the presence of numerous swampy, marshy, and stagnant waters. These dank and dark sections polluted the air with noxious germs; gave birth to hordes of noisome and poisonous insects, creeping things, and reptiles; and filled the system with malarial affections. Add to these material and physical hardships, the lack of means of communication, of near-by friends and neighbors, of books, papers, and magazines, of schools and churches, and one gets perhaps a general, though miniature, picture of what pioneer life in the Northwest really was.

These conditions apply pretty generally to all parts of this territory, but are especially true of the district lying in southeastern Michigan. Along the shores of Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, as well as on the banks of the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, the land is still, throughout much of its extent, low, marshy, and untillable. One hundred and twenty years ago, before artificial drainage was known; when the luxuriant vegetation caused perhaps a greater annual precipitation of rainfall; and when surely the uncleared trees, brush, and grasses checked the ready entrance of the sunlight and winds and thus prevented the rapid evaporation of this moisture, one cannot doubt that the climatic conditions were not salubrious. Of course, as is well known to-day, the lands lying back from this border belt are of considerable elevation, enjoy a healthful climate, and are exceedingly fertile. But this fact was not discovered or accepted for several years after the Northwest was opened for settlement. Explorers and surveyors judged the whole territory of Michigan from the conditions they encountered at the boundaries. They penetrated to the shores of the Maumee River;¹ they plowed their way through the lowlands to Detroit; they gazed, from this edge, off to the west and the north; and then they returned to report that Michigan was a land of pestilence and poison—filled with reeds, rushes, and flags; the breeding place of mosquitoes, beetles, and snakes; and the home of chills, fevers, and agues. These reports were, of course, wide of the truth. Nevertheless, they had the effect of deflecting the tide of western migration so that Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were settled and admitted

¹ It should be kept in mind that, until 1837, the southern boundary of Michigan extended from the southernmost point of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Maumee River, and thus Michigan Territory included what is now portions of Toledo. The dispute over this strip of land led to the Toledo War, settled in 1837.

into the Union as states considerably before Michigan was truly discovered. Even after the falsity of the early reports had been proved there seemed to be a superstitious fear about entering this "God-forsaken land," and it was only late in the third decade of the century that extensive migration really set in toward this district.

In many ways, however, these delays in settlement redounded to the educational advantage of Michigan. Reference has already been made several times to the extensive land grants made to the various states by the Federal government for school purposes. We have seen, too, that owing to inexperience, to indifference, to the more or less chaotic social and legal conditions existing in the territories, to an unfortunate principle in the land ordinance itself, and to the abundance and cheapness of land on all sides there developed a carelessness of, if not a veritable contempt for, the gift, and consequently there resulted, ultimately, a great public misfortune. Much of the proceeds that might have been obtained from these school sections was never secured, and much of the fund that was derived was ill administered and either wasted or lost.

Michigan, as we have hinted, profited from the experiences of these earlier states and avoided many of the pitfalls into which they had plunged. Moreover, a fortunate change in the Federal policy and a happy wording of the later ordinances respecting land grants secured for Michigan, as a unit, the control of school lands, and thus brought to bear a more intelligent, consistent, and far-sighted administration of them. While Michigan did not derive from these gifts the amounts of revenue she ought, she did conserve the legacies better than most of the states preceding her had done. These lands at least served as a basis for planning an ideal of

education which, if not entirely realized or realizable, put her public schools far in advance of those of most of the states adjoining her.

Another important contributing factor in the early history of education in Michigan is that her first settlers were, to a large extent, immigrants either directly or indirectly from New England, and hence were imbued with the New England idea of state education for all. The settlers who migrated to Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were, as has already been pointed out, drawn largely from the South and the Southeast. The immigrants to Michigan were, for the most part, from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and western New York, while many of those from this latter state had, in an earlier day, moved thither from New England. Naturally, therefore, the religious, political, social, and educational ideas of the East came to predominate noticeably in this new territory and state.

With this brief sketch of Michigan's early social and material conditions, let us turn to the early educational history.

No doubt there were meager elementary schools to be found at the various military posts or settlements of the French from an early day. These were either entirely private in character or else were under the control and support of the Catholic Church, whose priests and missionaries were found wherever a French settlement was made. It is quite certain that there was such a church school at Detroit as early as 1755. In 1775 a private school was also in existence here.¹ Doubtless, too, there were similar schools at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and other places. These, however, have little interest for our study.

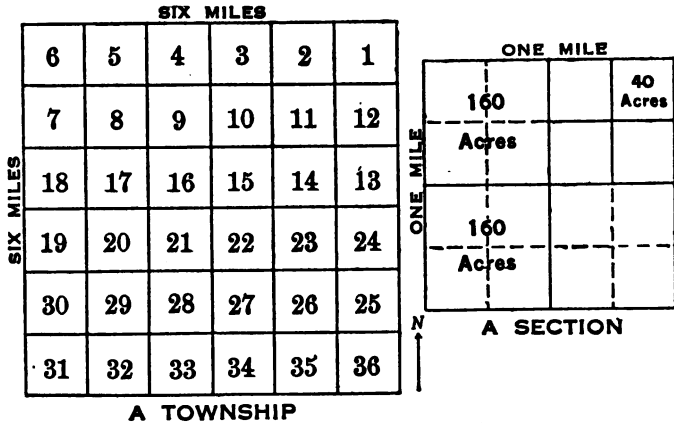
¹ McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, p. 14.

The true foundation for the educational system and the educational history of Michigan was, as in the case of the other states admitted after 1800, the famous Land Ordinance of 1785. This ordinance, it will be recalled, provided for the survey of all public lands into townships six miles square and containing twenty-three thousand and forty acres each. Starting at the intersection of a chosen meridian called the "principal meridian," and a chosen parallel of latitude styled the "base line," surveyors were to lay off, so it was planned, the entire territory belonging to the public domain. Each township was in turn to be divided into thirty-six equal parts called sections, each section to contain one thirty-sixth part of thirty-six square miles, or six hundred and forty acres. Again each section was subdivided into quarter sections containing one hundred and sixty acres, and finally each quarter was likewise divided into four equal parts containing forty acres each. This was the limit of division according to the public or governmental survey. The last two types of division have no immediate connection with our theme. The other two have.

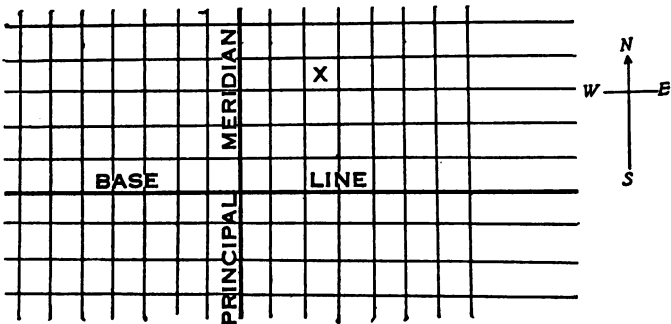
In order to plot the land definitely and to designate accurately in deeds, mortgages, and other legal papers the exact portion of land in question, the government provided that each section of each township should bear a distinct number. These extend from one to thirty-six, and, beginning in the upper or northeast section of each township, are numbered, in order, across and back that particular division of thirty-six square miles. The plans or ideas are graphically shown in the following representations.

Each row of townships to the east or to the west of the principal meridian is styled a "range," and these ranges are numbered in accordance with their location respecting

the principal meridian. Likewise, each row of townships north or south of the base line is referred to



that line and numbered accordingly. Hence there are townships north of the base line and townships south of the base line. There are also ranges east of the principal meridian and ranges west of the principal meridian. The following diagram represents the nomenclature graphically.



To locate definitely any tract of land above forty acres is, therefore, a simple and easy matter. For example,

Township 4 North, Range 3 East (which for brevity is written Tp. 4N, R₃E) signifies the township which lies in the row of townships four removes north of the base line and in the range of townships three removes east of the principal or standard meridian. This particular township is indicated on our diagram by the cross (x).

If, further, one wishes to locate section sixteen of the above township, one need only to follow down the sections from the northeast corner of the township to number sixteen, which necessarily always lies near the center of the township. Hence when Congress granted this section in each township to school purposes, it set aside a definitely located and unvarying portion of land. Chance, of course, might determine that section number sixteen, in some townships, would lie in fertile, salubrious, and highly desirable and valuable districts, while in others it might coincide, in whole or in part, with ponds, lakes, swamps, marshes, mountains, or other less desirable tracts. Nevertheless the average value was usually high, and in consequence the lands, which were given to the territories or states directly as wholes, brought into their treasuries considerable sums. Speaking of the Ordinance of 1785, Governor Woodbridge wrote as follows: "This [the Ordinance] was in fact an invitation to all the world to buy; and among other inducements held out, it was therein promised to all who should go out and settle there, that one thirty-sixth part of the whole country should be applied forever as a fund for the advancement of *Education*. It contained a promise to all who should buy there—it amounted to a solemn covenant with each purchaser and settler in every township, that he and his posterity forever should in all future time, in common with the other settlers in the township, be entitled to the usufruct of that fund as a means of educating

his children. What an inducement was this with the father of a family to go out and settle there."¹

However, as we have seen in the earlier pages of this chapter, Michigan was not rapidly settled at first because of various mistaken notions respecting soil and climate. In 1803, when Ohio was admitted to the Union, there were in Michigan Territory probably not four thousand persons, and these were mostly French.² In 1811 "there were in Michigan only nine principal settlements. These were on the River Miami, the Raisin, the Huron of Lake Erie, Ecorse, Rouge, Detroit, Huron of St. Clair, the Island of Mackinac, besides several groups of cabins scattered throughout the forest. The aggregate population of Michigan at that time was 4,860, four fifths of whom were French, and the remainder Americans, with a small portion of British."³ In 1820 the settlers had increased to ten thousand—still mostly French—and by 1830 the population was given as but thirty-two thousand.⁴ After 1825 the population in Michigan increased rapidly, owing largely to the opening of the Erie Canal in that year. This new water course opened a direct means of communication between Detroit and the Atlantic coast and thus stimulated trade in the whole Northwest.

When Michigan was set off from Indiana in 1805, some kind of a school law seems to have been enacted, but all records of it have been lost. In 1809 a second school law was passed, but the provisions and details of this one are likewise unknown. In 1804 a Catholic girls' academy

¹ Taken from a letter written by Governor Woodbridge of Michigan to the Department of Education of that state. It is mentioned in *Report of Public Instruction for Michigan in 1852*, p. 2.

² Mayo, "Education in the Northwest," *U.S. Com. Report, 1804-1805*, Vol. 2, pp. 1513 ff.

³ Lanman, *History of Michigan*, pp. 181-2, and based on the "Memorial from Michigan," in *American State Papers*.

⁴ Mayo, *ibid.*



Growth of population from 1810 to 1890

was established at Detroit by Father Gabriel Richard, an influential French priest who was stationed in Michigan at that time and who later played a notable part in the history of public education in the territory. During this same year there was opened, also at Detroit, a boys' school, in which, in addition to the elementary subjects, Latin and history were to be taught.¹

Both of these schools were extremely elementary in character and were not public schools in any modern sense of the phrase. Indeed, they were probably supported and directed entirely by the Catholic church. Since, too, at this time most of the inhabitants at Detroit were French, it is presumable that the instruction in these schools was conducted entirely in the French language. Whether the attendance was limited to adherents of the Catholic church is not known, but in all probability such restriction was not made. At best, however, little is definitely recorded respecting any of these early attempts at education, nor are their histories vital to our study.

The real beginnings of a system of public schools for Michigan were first laid in 1817. In that year the territorial legislature passed a bill creating the pretentious and comprehensive institution called the "University of Michigania." This strange and cumbersome scheme of education has been made a subject of ridicule and raillery by nearly every writer who has dealt with the history of education in Michigan. Each one seems to have felt

¹ McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 15. In 1808 Father Richard sent a memorial to the legislature in which he called attention to the schools in and about Detroit and presented their needs. He declared that in the two girls' schools "better than thirty young girls" were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, knitting, sewing, spinning, and similar subjects. In these two schools were "three dozen spinning wheels and one loom on which four pieces of linen or woollen cloth" had been made the past spring or summer. Orders had been given for the purchase of "a spinning machine of a hundred spindles"—and for a "few colors for dyeing the stuffs already made or to be made." (*Michigan Pioneer Collection*, I, p. 347.)

it incumbent upon him to strike a blow at this weak but venerable project, or else to excuse it as resulting from hasty and ill-considered action. In truth, there is no denying the fact that the plan was pedantic, bombastic, and even ridiculous, but it contained in essence educational principles that were far beyond the ken of the average citizen, legislator, or educator of the day, and indeed far beyond the realization in practice of any state or nation of this century.

Neither had this law a monopoly on all the pedantry, pretense, and high-sounding phraseology known to the day. A period in which many of the most cultured and most scholarly men of the time punctuated and emphasized their letters, conversations, and addresses with Latin quotations and Latin and Greek terms and references; a time when magazine writers and statesmen were wont to fill their articles with allusions to Rome and to ancient heroes; a time just previous to which a proposition was seriously considered and all but adopted in the Congress of the United States to give to the states in the Northwest such names as Cherronesus, Metropotamia, Assenisippia, Polypotamia, and Pelesipia¹—such a time could expect nothing less than a document so worded.

Neither is the idea of a strongly centralized school system inexplicable. Michigan was, as we have seen, still largely French in population, and the French ideas of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI, and the centralizing theories of Napoleon, naturally, to many, furnished the ideal of government and of state policy. There is no doubt, too, that the members of the territorial legislature were influenced by legislation and opinion found in certain other states in America. Twenty-one

¹ These names are attributed by Professor Hart to the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson. They appear in the Land Ordinance of 1784. See Hart's *Formation of the Union*, p. 108.

years before, Jefferson's scheme for a complete system of schools for Virginia had been made into a permissive law for that state. In New York, as early as 1784, the legislature created an institution which in many respects was then, and is to-day, very similar to the first school authority in Michigan.¹ Likewise, too, Georgia in 1785 established a university to which the institution of Michigan bore close resemblance. Indeed, in the act incorporating the University of Michigania the framers themselves acknowledge their indebtedness to seven of the original states.

Though the substance of the Act passed in 1817 has often been put into print, the entire bill deserves a place in this treatment, even though such inclusion be at the risk of tedium, for the university thus created is still in existence and its early history was most intimately connected with secondary education in the state. The full text follows:

An act to establish the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania.

Be it enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan, That there shall be in the said Territory a Catholepistemiad² or University, denominated the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania. The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania shall be composed of thirteen Didaxum or professorships; first a Didaxia or Professorship of Catholepistemia, or universal science, the Didactor or professor of which shall be President of the Institution; Second, a Didaxia or professorship of Anthropoglossica or literature embracing all the Epistemum or sciences relative to language; Third, a Didaxia or professorship of Mathematica or Mathematics; Fourth, a Didaxia or professorship of Physiognostica, or Natural History; Fifth, a Didaxia or professorship of Physiosophica or Natural Philosophy; Sixth, a Didaxia or professorship of Astronomia or Astronomy; Seventh,

¹ Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, p. 209.

² For an explanation of the terms used here, see Campbell's *Political History of Michigan*, p. 388; or Salmon's *Education in Michigan during the Territorial Period*, p. 4, note.

a Didaxia or professorship of Chymia or Chemistry; Eighth, a Didaxia or professorship of Iatua or Medical Sciences; Ninth, a Didaxia or professorship of Oeconomia, or Economical Sciences; Tenth, a Didaxia or professorship of Ethica, or Ethical Sciences; Eleventh, a Didaxia or professorship of Polemitactics, or Military Sciences; Twelfth, a Didaxia or professorship of Diegetica, or Historical Sciences; and Thirteenth, a Didaxia or professorship of Eunoeica, or Intellectual Sciences, embracing all the Epistemum or sciences relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind, to spiritual existence, to the Deity, and to Religion; the Didactor or professor of which shall be Vice President of the Institution. The Didactors or professors shall be appointed and commissioned by the Governor. There shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, to the President of the Institution, and to each Didactor or Professor, an annual salary to be from time to time ascertained by law. More than one Didaxia or professorship may be conferred upon the same person. The President and Didactors, or professors, a majority of them assembled, shall have power to regulate all the concerns of the Institution, to enact laws for that purpose, to sue, to be sued, to acquire, to hold and to alien property, real, mixed and personal, to make, to use and to alter a seal, to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athe-noeums, Botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions, consonant to the laws of the United States of America, and of Michigan, and to appoint officers, instructors and instructri in, among, and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, and other geographical divisions of Michigan. Their name and style as a corporation, shall be "The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania." To every subordinate instructor and instructrix, appointed by the Catholepistemiad or University there shall be paid from the treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, an annual salary, to be, from time to time, ascertained by law. The existing public taxes are hereby increased fifteen per cent; and from the proceeds of the present, and of all future public taxes fifteen per cent are appropriated for the benefit of the Catholepistemiad or University. The Treasurer of Michigan shall keep a separate account of the University fund. The Catholepistemiad or University may prepare and draw four successive lotteries, deducting from the prizes in the same fifteen per cent for the benefit of the Institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent, shall be applied,

in the first instance, to the acquisition of suitable lands and buildings, and books, libraries and apparatus, and afterwards to such purposes as shall be, from time to time, by law directed. The *Honorarium* for a course of lectures shall not exceed fifteen dollars: for classical instruction, ten dollars a quarter, and for ordinary instruction, six dollars a quarter. If the Judges of the court of any county, or a majority of them shall certify that the parent or guardian of any person has not adequate means to defray the expense of suitable instruction, and that the same ought to be a public charge, the honorarium shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan. An annual report of the Institution shall be laid before the legislative power for the time being. This law, or any part of it, may be repealed by the legislative power, for the time being. Made, adopted and published from the laws of seven of the original states, to wit: the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan, at Detroit, on Tuesday the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE,
Secretary of Michigan and at present acting Governor thereof.

A. B. WOODWARD,
Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan.

JOHN GRIFFIN,
One of the Judges of the Territory of Michigan.¹

Here, then, was a central Board of Education having charge of the whole subject of education within the state and empowered to establish schools of all kinds and grades, to appoint instructors and supervisors in them, and to administer all funds that might accrue from any and all sources for the support of education. The central board was to serve in the double capacity of a teaching and an administering body. Thirteen professorships were created and the holders of two of these, specifically named, were to be the president and the vice-president, respectively, of the university. The support of the institution was provided for by increasing the tax rate fifteen

¹ This transcribed Act is incorporated in the annual report of Superintendent F. W. Shearman for 1852, and is certified to by the Deputy Secretary of State, R. R. Gibson, as "a true copy of the original." See *Shearman's Public Instruction and School Law of Michigan for 1852*, pp. 4 and 5.

per cent, and by authorizing four lotteries. In addition, the university had the proceeds of forty-six thousand and eighty acres of land—that is, two whole townships—granted to the territory by the Federal government for the encouragement and support of a seminary of learning. This was increased by the gift of three whole sections of land generously granted by the Indians for the support of a central college to be located at Detroit. This bequest was made by the chiefs of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies in the treaty of Fort Meigs, signed at Detroit, September 29, 1817.¹

When one further analyzes this historic document he is struck by several far-reaching and advanced principles that are incorporated in it. First and foremost the attention is fixed on the scope of the educational fields that were to be tilled. These embrace the whole group of literature, science, and the arts, together with the departments of philosophy, medicine, divinity, and military tactics. The only traditional college subject that seems to be lacking is that of law, and the intention may have been to treat of this under one of the given *Didaxum*. Moreover, in administering education, provision is made for schools of every grade—from the elementary, through the secondary, to the college and the university. Likewise, too, full power is given to establish collateral school agencies like libraries, museums, and laboratories.

A second underlying principle found here is that of the complete public control and support of schools. In the Act itself no indication is given that private or denominational schools would not be allowed, but the idea seems to have been to make the state system so complete that there would be neither need nor place for any other type of schools.

¹ Cooley, *History of Michigan*, p. 312.

Again, the principle of concentration of power finds here ample expression. It may seem a little strange that a territory that was but two years out from under the nominal military control of tyrannical George III, and was surrounded by examples of the principle of decentralization in school matters, should voluntarily choose this course, but the French traditions and the French constituency in the territory at this time doubtless give the explanation.

Then, there are seen the principle of accountability of public servants to the people represented in their legislature; the exact auditing of funds; and the education of the poor and needy at full public expense. Education is not made compulsory, or absolutely free, but it is made possible for all ranks and classes.

Acting on the powers bestowed in this strange document the governor of the territory appointed the first faculty of the university. Inasmuch as authority was expressly given whereby one person might hold more than one "Didaxia" or professorship, the courses were so grouped and the work so adjusted that two men alone constituted the first educational system of the territory. Rev. John Monteith, a Presbyterian minister, was made president and weighted with seven professorships, and Father Gabriel Richard, the Catholic priest previously mentioned in this chapter, was made vice-president and given six professorships. Their salaries were fixed by law at twelve dollars and one-half per year for each professorship. Thus the president for his services was to receive the munificent sum of eighty-seven dollars and one-half, annually, and his able assistant was expected to content himself with what seventy-five dollars could purchase. Here, truly, is an illustration of the world's policy of paying her educators largely in honors that may satisfy

the spirit, rather than in generous portions of lucre that may contribute to the physical needs. The dictum of "plain living and high thinking" has, in the teacher's calling, not only been arbitrarily enforced but has been worn through with triteness. Nevertheless, no word of complaint seems to have escaped either from Mr. Montith or from Mr. Richard, but, like good schoolmen ever, they both served their generation and left posterity to judge of their true merits.

The scheme for the university as it was planned never went into operation. However, some elementary education was encouraged, and at Detroit an elementary school was established. Possibly similar schools were started at Monroe and Mackinaw.¹ In October of this same year, 1817,² a college or academy was opened in Detroit and was styled the "First College of Michigania." The resources for this school were derived in part from the territorial funds at the disposal of the faculty of the university; in part from the sections of land granted by the Indians specifically for this school; and in part from free-will contributions by the citizens of Detroit. The largest share of the funds was secured from this last source.¹

In 1818 a classical school was also opened in Detroit. This school, together with a library, occupied the second floor of a new building erected for its accommodation, while the English school was conducted on the first floor. Here then is a suggestion of a "high school"³ four years before the establishment of the Boston English Classical

¹ McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

² The cornerstone of this so-called "first hall of the University" was laid Sept. 26, 1817. (See *Detroit Gazette* for Sept. 26, 1817, as indicated by Miss Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

³ The school, of course, was not called the "High School." It was really the first branch of the "University." Its teachers were authorized by the university and the university exercised supervision over it. No taxes were ever raised for it, and no lottery sold. "The only sense in which it could be called a public school is that instruction was given in a building erected by general subscription." The Classical Academy was kept up as part of the university until October, 1827. (Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 14.)

School and about six years before the word "high" was used to designate that school. The Faculty of the University of Michigania voted that the program of studies to be offered in this classical school should consist of "French, Latin, and Greek antiquities, English grammar, composition, elocution, mathematics, geography, morals, and ornamental accomplishments."¹

The project of a college at Detroit did not flourish, and in a year or so seems to have been abandoned. None of the other attempts at the establishment of schools was very successful, and the university authorities appear to have made no further efforts to exercise their powers.

In 1821 the legislature repealed the law of 1817 in its entirety. At the same time, however, it enacted a new law establishing or perpetuating the same type of institution as the old Catholepistemiad, but under less pretentious nomenclature and with powers more definitely distributed. In place of imposing all authority on a teaching faculty or board, the new organization — called now simply the University of Michigan — was composed of twenty-one trustees. To them were delegated essentially the same administrative powers that the old board possessed,—that is, the sole conduct of all public education in the territory. They were given authority to establish secondary schools which should be dependent on the university, to visit and inspect these schools, to make all necessary rules and regulations respecting them, and to appoint and remove teachers within them.

This same law of 1821 also repealed the provision for a territorial educational tax of fifteen per cent, and thereby forced the university to depend for its funds entirely upon gifts and upon the proceeds from public lands specifically devoted to this end.

¹ Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

The legislation of 1821, with some subsequent slight modifications of detail, remained in force until 1837, when Michigan was admitted to the Union as a state. During all this time, however, the university as a central college existed only in name, nor was any attention given to providing dependencies or branch secondary schools other than one at Detroit.¹ This endured, as we have said, until October, 1827.²

These two laws of 1817 and 1821 do nevertheless reveal certain general tendencies and contain beneath their verbiage certain great educational principles upon which Michigan has always built her practice. Miss Salmon in her study of *Education in Michigan during the Territorial Period* aptly summarizes them in this form: "First, the State thus early announced the policy of carrying on Education at public expense rather than leaving it entirely to private philanthropy, whim, or diversity; second, that the University as a school was to be the head and crown of the whole state system and that all elementary, secondary, and collegiate instruction was to bear a close relation to the work in the University; third, that the University was to be and remain forever an absolutely non-sectarian institution; fourth, courses of study were to be made so complete that there would be no temptation offered to the youth of the State to go elsewhere for an education, even of a professional character; and, fifth, instruction was to be placed within the reach of all by reducing the expense to a minimum."³

As previously noticed, there is much in these two acts that suggests French influences and French propensities within the state. Like the French government at home, these laws provided no exercise of democratic

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

or local initiative, but specifically planned for a centralized, bureaucratic, and paternalistic domination. There is no suggestion of the English idea of communal self-government. The people of the Territory of Michigan at this time neither knew nor cared for the rights of suffrage, representative government, or self-direction. Indeed, they probably as a class were not fit for the exercise of these high functions of liberty.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided that whenever any organized territory attained to a population of five thousand souls it should be entitled to an elected house of representatives which should exercise joint authority with the appointed council. In 1818 Michigan possessed the requisite number of inhabitants and the decision was left to the citizens whether or not they would send representatives to the legislature. The proposition was voted down most emphatically and overwhelmingly.¹ The people seemed not to wish the trouble of conducting their own affairs. It was so much easier to have government imposed upon them than to devise and execute laws for themselves. Contented shiftlessness, whose only wish is to be left alone, is so much more easily preserved than is self-exertion that aims at ideals which are beyond the immediate reach. This was the spirit that prevailed among many citizens of this territory in the days before 1825. This was the spirit that largely explains the fact that the French in America in one hundred and fifty years did not develop enough energy and real purpose to make their hold here permanent. This spirit was the characteristic spirit of the French peasants and burghers of the seventeenth century.

Still the delay of freedom—self-imposed, as it were—carried no ultimate evils for the new territory and state.

¹ Putnam, *Primary and Secondary Education in Michigan*, p. 9.

Government was administered beneficently by the guardians until the wards did attain to their majority. Then they took up the control for themselves and exercised their powers more wisely and less painfully, we must think, than they otherwise would without the period of tutelage.

By 1827 Michigan had come to feel her latent strength and had asked for, and received, a representative voice in the legislature. This same year the territory was laid off into civil townships with elective township officers and with more or less complete local autonomy. About this same period, too, occurred the beginnings of a great migration of New England families into the territory, just as almost an exact two hundred years earlier the great migrations from Old England to New England were occurring.

These new influences were felt at once and are seen perhaps best and most characteristically in the school legislation of 1827. An act of this year seems to have been modeled pretty literally upon the Massachusetts School Law of 1647. It was enacted that every township of fifty families should at once provide its youth with elementary instruction for an aggregated period of not less than six months per year. The wording of the law seems to imply that the township school was expected to be a traveling school, and that its operations would be carried on a short term in each of the several districts into which the township might be divided. The same law further required that, in townships having a population of one hundred families, an elementary school should be supported for at least twelve weeks in the aggregate in the year. If the township possessed one hundred and fifty families an "English school" was to be erected in addition to the elementary school; and if the township

contained two hundred families there was required, in addition to all the other schools, the establishment of a "grammar school," in which Latin, French, and English were to be taught. In case the township possessed one hundred and fifty families the elementary school was to be open six months in the year and the "English school" (which seems to have been only a somewhat advanced elementary school) was to be open twelve months. Where there were two hundred families the law required a six months' term for the elementary school, a twelve months' term for the English School, and a twelve months' term for the grammar school. All these were probably traveling schools or else short-term schools held simultaneously in each portion of the township.

To insure the enforcement of the law a penalty was imposed for non-compliance and this was graduated to the size of the community. This varied from a fine of fifty dollars in townships of fifty families, up to a fine of one hundred and fifty dollars in townships of two hundred families.¹

Here then were the real beginnings of a working system of public elementary and secondary education in Michigan. Considering the character and number of the inhabitants of the territory, which at this time did not exceed thirty thousand, and considering the earlier history and traditions of Michigan, this law was as progressive as one could expect or perhaps desire. If it had been strictly enforced Michigan might have made even a better start in education than she did. But, alas! what the law fostered and encouraged in one clause, it discouraged and rendered partially nugatory in another. Despite the threats of heavy fines for non-compliance with its terms, the law was only permissive after all. In case two thirds

¹ Putnam, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

of the voters in any township decided that the law should not be put into operation in their township such decision was to be final. One could not justly expect that inhabitants so long unaccustomed to public schools, to self-imposed taxation, and to local autonomy would instantly and unanimously rise to the opportunity and act most wisely. Nor did they. Few, if any, schools were thus established, and the following year the legislature—now thoroughly reacting against the former rule of centralization—took one further step toward complete decentralization: the district instead of the township was officially and legally made the school unit.

No further change of any considerable importance, save one, was made in the school law until Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837. During this decade, however, there was formed a Territorial Department of Education with a State Superintendent of Public Instruction at its head. This was in 1829. When Michigan became a state this office was provided for by the state constitution, she being the first commonwealth thus to make this office permanent through the fundamental instrument of government.

Thus at the close of the territorial period there was in Michigan nominal provision for elementary education in every district; a series of branches, colleges, seminaries, and other schools furnishing secondary education, either privately or under the direction and support of the state; and at the focal point toward which all these converged, a state university. As a matter of fact, however, as we have already seen, there was no such articulated and complete system at all—and indeed no organization that deserves the name "system." The central university as a teaching college did not exist save as an intangible ideal. Elementary schools were operating in but few

localities, while private and denominational associations furnished whatever education there was of a secondary character. These last institutions, however, offered a fair education considering the poverty of the country and the educational ideals and methods in vogue at the time. They did not confine their efforts solely to giving secondary instruction, but included infant schools, free charity schools, ladies' seminaries, private high schools for boys, manual labor schools, mechanics arts schools, and Lancastrian academies.¹

At the close of the territorial period of Michigan one can safely declare that the state had high and noble ambitions and ideals for the future, but despite her territorial dreams and laws she had few accomplished results and concrete institutions of which to boast. She now gathered her resources together, strengthened herself for her tasks, and forged ahead.

¹ Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff. These titles are suggested from the announcements made by the schools themselves in the Detroit papers from 1821 to 1836. Beside the common English branches there were advertised rhetoric, higher mathematics including surveying and navigation, natural philosophy, chemistry, Latin, Greek, and French. One school taught in addition to these branches Spanish, Italian, and German. "Needlework," says Miss Salmon, "is often included in the course in young ladies' academies."

CHAPTER V

PUTTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS INTO EFFECT

MICHIGAN was admitted to the Union in 1837. Two years earlier, however, the people of the territory had held a convention, drawn a state constitution, ratified this at the polls, and made formal application to the United States Congress for recognition. All this had occurred before November, 1835, but owing to a dispute respecting the southern boundary line, final steps in admitting her were deferred more than a year. This dispute, which for a time threatened the peace and amiability of both Ohio and Michigan, and which led to the mobilization of troops by both states, was finally settled without bloodshed. Ohio was given the disputed tract of land, but in order to compensate Michigan, satisfy her pride, and stop her wounds, there was added to her territory what is now the whole Upper Peninsula. This district by natural contiguity was a portion of the territory of Wisconsin and was organized as a part of it. Congress has, however, the constitutional right to divide and organize the public domain as it sees fit, and in consequence no legally valid criticism can be made against its action in this case.¹

The educational provisions in the new constitution of Michigan were, like most of the earlier territorial legislation, made up of pleasing and soothing generalities, of permissive powers, and of expressions of an educational ideal that was both vague in outline and indistinct in

¹ This threatened outbreak between Ohio and Michigan is styled the "Toledo War," inasmuch as the quarrel centered about the jurisdiction of this growing town.

respect to means and method of attainment. The entire five sections pertaining to the subject read as follows:

1. "The Governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature, in joint vote, shall appoint a Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall hold his office for two years and whose duties shall be prescribed by law.

2. "The Legislature shall encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement. The proceeds of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this state for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund; the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the state.

3. "The Legislature shall provide for a system of common schools by which a school shall be kept up and supported in each school district at least three months in every year; and any school district neglecting to keep up and support such a school may be deprived of its equal proportion of the interest of the public fund.

4. "As soon as the circumstances of the state will permit, the Legislature shall provide for the establishment of libraries; one at least in each township; and the money which shall be paid by persons as equivalent for exemption from military duty, and the clear proceeds of all fines assessed in the several counties for any breach of the penal laws, shall be exclusively applied for the support of said libraries.

5. "The Legislature shall take measures for the protection, improvement, or other disposition of such lands as have been or may hereafter be reserved or granted by the United States to this state for the support of a University, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences, and as may be authorized by the terms of such grant; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said University."¹

These sections are not elaborate, but they served as the foundation for a school system that was comprehensive

¹ These sections are quoted in the *Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction* in various years. See, for instance, *Report for 1852*, page 18.

and, likewise, in accord with many of the best theories and practices of the age anywhere. Moreover, the state was extremely fortunate in the choice of officers who were charged with the early administration of her educational policies and of her public schools.

Acting on the authority imposed by the constitution and in harmony with the advice of Governor Mason, the legislature, in 1836, provided for putting into operation the new school ideals. Rev. John Pierce, a native of the East and a man of education, training, and broad experience, was made Superintendent of Public Instruction, and was ordered to devise and to present to the next legislature a plan for a system of elementary schools, a scheme for a university having branches giving secondary instruction, and a policy for conserving the state school funds derived from the sale of public lands. No better choice of an educational administrator could have been made. The efficacy of education as a regenerating factor in modern life was a basal tenet in Mr. Pierce's creed. He had a profound conviction that a system of public schools, well articulated and conducted, would be the basis for all economic, social, and political progress of the new state. He had been a member of the Constitutional Convention and had served on the Committee of Education in that body. He, moreover, had been a close student of foreign school systems, especially the Prussian system as presented in Cousin's report. He was imbued with the belief that a strongly centralized state system was the ideal, and that it was especially needed in a new and changing territory. An educational authority like Prussia's could keep its hand upon every type of school and every phase of instruction, and could prevent waste, local jealousies, and superficiality.

Fortune and the current of events, too, facilitated

Mr. Pierce's policies. The decline in education that had started in New England even before the close of the seventeenth century and had spread to all the other colonies, had reached its lowest point some ten or twelve years before this date, and the return influence and the inevitable reaction had begun. There now was an educational advance on all sides. This was the decade of the second great awakening in American life; this was the Era of the American Revival of Learning. At this very time, Horace Mann was in the midst of his victorious fight for better schools and better school laws in Massachusetts. At this time, Henry Barnard was just at the threshold of his career in Connecticut. At this time, the democratic wave under Andrew Jackson was spreading over the land and carrying with it a demand for an equal opportunity for all individuals in politics, in business, and in education. America was at peace with the world. The Indians had in large numbers been removed beyond the Mississippi and were no longer an immediate menace and danger. Western lands were cheap; the Federal debt had been entirely paid; and the central government had adopted the policy of distributing to the several states the surplus revenue of the treasury. The Erie Canal had been opened, a short time previously, and now connected the Great Lakes with the seaboard. Railroads were beginning to be laid; public highways were opened; canals were dug; "pet banks" were distributed here and there throughout the new West. Visions of wealth, leisure, and happiness filled the minds of all, and optimism reigned supreme.

To facilitate the realization of these dreams, schools were everywhere demanded. The Northwest now took on that "passion for learning" that ever since has constituted one of her most characteristic features. The new

State of Michigan was caught up by the rising spirit of hope and expectancy, and demanded, with her sister states, a system of education that should be commensurate with the new ideals and contributory to the democratic and universal aspirations.

When the legislature reconvened in January, 1837, Superintendent Pierce made his report and offered his proposed plan. This document was a remarkable piece of educational wisdom. It provided for a system of schools extending from the rural district school to the university, and resembling in scope and articulation the plan that was proposed in the Law of 1817. There were to be elementary schools in every district and these were to be free and compulsory to all youth for a period of at least three months in the year. There was a recommendation for a minimum salary law for teachers and for a law requiring a regular course of professional training for them, together with state certifications of their qualifications.

Mr. Pierce also outlined a policy for conserving the school funds arising from the sale of the public lands, and in addition made other advanced and wise suggestions which however do not directly bear upon the present theme. Suffice it to say that the plan of instruction proposed at the time was in nearly perfect accord with what Mr. Mann was advocating at the same period for Massachusetts. Had Mr. Pierce's suggestions been put more fully into operation one cannot doubt but that the school system of Michigan would have been even better and stronger than it was.

Still there were extenuating circumstances which should be taken into consideration in forming a judgment of the shortcomings of the legislature and the people. However clearly a theorist may have an image of the ideal, it is not always the part of practical wisdom to

attempt to attain to it at one effort. In this instance the legislature was doubtless wise in not making into mandatory law all of Mr. Pierce's recommendations. Indeed, time proved that much that was undertaken was not realizable and had later to be abandoned. Nevertheless, the plan as outlined by Mr. Pierce constitutes the true concrete beginnings of the state policy respecting education.

The more important specific recommendations may be summarized thus:¹

1. All school lands were to be sold and the proceeds to be invested according to the provisions of the law.
2. The powers and duties of the Superintendent of Public Instruction were to be specifically defined.
3. Provisions for the organization and administration of the elementary schools were made according to the following plan:
 - (a) The school district was to be made the unit and was to have its own elective school officers—moderator, assessor, and director—whose duties and powers were specifically defined.
 - (b) Township libraries were to be established and supported by means of
 - (1) The surplus from fines.
 - (2) The surplus from military exemptions.
 - (3) A direct township tax of ten dollars annually.
 - (c) Township boards of school inspectors were to be provided, and their duties defined.
 - (d) An exact plan for the distribution of the school funds was framed and the amount allotted to each district was made dependent on the school population.
 - (e) A complete system of official reports from inferior officers to superior officers was outlined.
 - (f) Local districts were given permissive power to levy an additional school tax.
 - (g) Townships were required to raise annually by township tax a sum of money for school purposes equal to that contributed by the state.

¹ *Senate Documents*, 1838, pp. 15 ff.

4. Provision was made for the establishment of academies or branches of the university to give secondary instruction.
5. The university was organized.
6. Provision was made for securing professional training of teachers and for state certification of them.
7. A plan for a minimum salary law was proposed.

The legislature accepted the report of Mr. Pierce and embodied his recommendations, almost *in toto*, into law. Free schools were not, however, provided at this time, nor was the Superintendent of Public Instruction given the authority that was essential to make his position one of real power and dignity.¹ Neither was a minimum salary law enacted.

The law of 1837 authorized the sale of the public lands, the work to be carried on under the direction of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Here again Mr. Pierce rendered excellent service to the state. Not only was he an educator of high rank but he was an equally capable and efficient financier and business administrator. Under his supervision the sales were made at auction and brought good prices. The law itself specified that no public land should be sold for less than eight dollars per acre. The actual selling price averaged about twelve dollars per acre. A small cash deposit was required of each purchaser and permission was given whereby the remainder of the obligation was to be made in annual installments.

At first all parties seem to have been satisfied and pleased. Then came the financial panic of 1837, with its attendant complications, bankruptcies, and losses. Optimism gave place to pessimism. The decade had witnessed an era of the wildest of "wild-cat" banking and

¹ Mr. Pierce advised that power be granted him and his successors "to hear and decide all questions arising under the public school system." This would have made the superintendent an absolute supreme judge. The legislature denied the request.

of reckless speculation, and the inevitable crash had come. Purchasers of the school lands could not meet their obligations; prices of all kinds of real estate fell; and speculators and citizens turned to the government for advice and relief. Complaints poured in that the purchase price of the school lands had been too high, and petitions were made to the legislature for a "stay law" that would release buyers from their contracts. For some time the legislature delayed action and matters stood in abeyance. Many purchasers deliberately abandoned their purchases, and thereby forfeited to the state the payments that had already been made. The land also reverted to the government and this served as a check and dam to further sales.

Finally the pressure became too great and the legislature yielded. Relief acts were passed, modifying the whole operation of previous laws and the administration that had gone on under them. Many purchasers of school lands were exempted in part or in whole from their contracts and their obligations. The prices of lands actually agreed upon and of which part payments had been made were reduced in amounts. To those who had made full settlements, reimbursements, through rebates, were made. The effect of these relief acts, besides throwing the whole administration into confusion, was a large financial loss to the state school fund. Up to December 10, 1842, the sales of school lands had amounted to \$711,404.85, but under the provisions of the relief act this amount was cut down to \$359,809.41.¹ There were other losses incident to bad management, inaccurate bookkeeping, and perhaps carelessness, so that not even this amount was actually realized.

According to the report of the Commissioner of the

¹ Smith, *History of Education in Michigan*, p. 18.

State Land Office in 1880, the total amount of school lands granted by the Federal government to the state of Michigan equaled 1,077,208.76 acres. At that date there were 426,860.39 acres still unsold. The average price per acre received by the state on lands sold up to that time had been approximately four dollars and one-half.¹ Since 1880 the remaining lands have been disposed of at a figure considerably above this price.

At first moneys obtained from the sales of these public lands were loaned to county governments and to individuals. That loaned to counties was secured by county bonds; that to individuals was guaranteed by a mortgage on the land. Nevertheless, for one reason or another, much of the money that was loaned to individuals was lost. There are to this day standing on the records many uncanceled mortgages of the state against individuals, but no serious or successful efforts seem ever to have been made to recover the amounts involved.

Later, in order to pay its own debts, the state borrowed all the school moneys itself, the whole amount thus becoming a permanent and perpetual loan to the commonwealth. To secure the payment of the interest on this loan the entire faith and credit of Michigan is pledged. The rate is seven per cent per annum.

The state also assumed and guaranteed "the payment of the interest due from purchases of part-paid lands." This also bears seven per cent interest and is merged into one fund with the other moneys just mentioned. There is therefore a perpetual school fund, loaned to the state and guaranteed by the state, which will continue to draw interest, payable out of the state tax levy, so long as the state itself shall endure. This is the state's

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

Primary School Fund. On April 1, 1843, it amounted to \$369,264.39.¹

In addition to the money obtained from the sale of public lands, other specific resources and taxes accrue to this fund from time to time, so that the amount never can be decreased, but on the contrary is constantly and forever being increased, and thus is yearly adding to the support of schools. The other items of this school fund are:

1. The funds derived from the sale of lands that escheat to the state for want of heirs.
2. One half of the moneys obtained from the sale of swamp land granted to the state by the Federal Government.²

The annual interest derived and distributed to the schools from the primary school funds is at present supplemented by moneys derived from four other sources. These are:

1. Specific taxes received from corporations other than mining corporations operating in the Upper Peninsula.
2. The one-mill tax on all assessable property in the state.
3. Non-resident tuition fees, which go directly to the school attended, but which must be accounted for and reported to the state.
4. A district tax or direct local tax determined by the local authorities.
5. Moneys from miscellaneous resources.

A financial statement taken from the *Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* for 1907 and 1914³ reveals the present condition of funds for primary schools in the state, and furnishes an interesting commentary on

¹ *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1852*, p. 599.

² For this the state pays interest at the rate of five per cent rather than seven per cent. This fund is therefore called the State Primary School Five Per Cent Interest Fund.

³ The Primary School Fund interest is distributed semi-annually to the various school districts in the state and is apportioned according to the school population of each district. The per capita apportionment in 1843 was 32 cents. In 1853 it was 53 cents. It never got higher than this until after 1880. In 1906 the rate was \$12; in 1907, \$3; in 1908, \$8.28; in 1913, \$7.41.

the development of this fund during the past seventy years.

SOURCE OF FUNDS	1906	1913
One-Mill Tax.....	\$ 1,092,688.64	\$ 1,192,215.14
Primary School Interest Fund..	2,706,165.10	5,500,639.30
Non-resident Tuition.....	110,495.58	301,499.05
Direct or District Tax.....	5,591,319.75	9,388,617.50
Miscellaneous.....	739,606.07	1,912,857.98
Total net receipts.....	\$10,240,275.14	\$18,295,828.97
Received from Loans.....	1,060,380.37	3,456,879.32
Balance from Preceding Year...	2,932,874.20	3,687,871.91
Total Resources.....	\$14,233,529.71	\$25,440,580.20

It must be kept in mind that these figures represent the yearly resources of the primary schools only. They do not include the university funds, the normal school funds, the agricultural school funds, or the funds for other educational institutions above the high school. They do include moneys available for high schools.

Inasmuch as the present high schools of Michigan are an outgrowth of the elementary schools and are now popularly and legally regarded as an integral part of the primary or common-school system, we shall have to consider the rise and development of this type of schools later. Until considerably after 1837, however, secondary education was not conceived to be thus intimately related and organically connected with elementary education, and provision was made for it in two distinct types of schools. One class of these institutions, called Branches of the University, was public, and was supported and controlled chiefly by the state. The other was private or denominational and was only in a general and indirect way under the authority and supervision of the state.

The ideal of Mr. Pierce was to make a system of education so complete and so efficient that there would be no excuse for private and denominational schools for secular instruction, and no cause for a young man or woman to seek an education in other states of the Union, or in non-state schools within Michigan. Mr. Pierce was not an irreligious man¹ nor did he wish to oppose the spread of church influences. He had, however, in other states seen the pernicious effects of an array of weak, struggling, ill-equipped little denominational schools, academies, and colleges, and had noted the cheapening effect they had had upon high standards of scholarship and attainments. He resolved, therefore, so far as possible, to prevent their implanting in Michigan, and exerted his influence, openly and aggressively, to this end.

In the report and recommendations to the legislature in 1836, Mr. Pierce called the attention of that body to the seriousness of "granting to private associations acts of incorporation with university powers." He referred to the policy of New York, which refused to charter a private or denominational school that did not possess appropriate buildings valued at not less than twenty-five thousand dollars and at the same time a current fund of at least one hundred thousand dollars, "secured in double the amount, for the use of the institution, and reserving to the state the right of visitation."

Even the precautions taken in New York were, to Mr. Pierce, not sufficient safeguards, and in his first report he added this significant sentence: "It is respectfully suggested to the consideration of the legislature whether it will be desirable (at all) to incorporate such a number of private associations for purposes of education as will

¹ It will be recalled that he himself was a Christian minister, and after relinquishing the office of superintendent in 1841, he returned to the work of the church.

have the effect to draw off the attention and interest of any considerable portions of the public from the institutions founded by the state." "The object of the rule is," he urged, "to prevent the multiplication of such institutions without any fair prospect of permanent usefulness."

In 1838, when the school laws were being revised by the legislature, Mr. Pierce again returned to the attack and expressed himself as follows: "When this decision is finally made," he said, "it will not require the inspiration of a prophet to determine whether the state shall eventually assume the first rank in the Republic of Letters, by founding and rearing up an institution of noble stature and just proportions, worthy alike of the state and of learning, and equally worthy the name of university, or whether the state shall ultimately sink to a low level in the world of knowledge, having institutions under the imposing name of colleges, scattered through the length and breadth of the land, without funds, without cabinets, without apparatus, without libraries, without talents, without character and without the ability of ever maintaining them. If one is granted, others must be, and there is no limit. If one village obtains a charter for a college, all others must have the same favor. In porportion as they increase in numbers, just in that proportion will be their decrease of power to be useful."¹

The struggle in the legislature was long and more or less bitter. Mr. Pierce naturally was looked upon by many sectarians as an enemy of religion and a menace to the true development of the state. Despite his declarations denying the false charges he became, in the eyes of many, a man marked for speedy retirement from office.

¹ Quoted in *Superintendent's Report for 1852*, p. 38. Also found in *Senate Documents, 1839*, pp. 225 ff.

The question came to a head in 1839, when a petition was presented to the legislature praying for the incorporation of the "Trustees of Michigan College." After a long and earnest discussion the act of incorporation was passed, and Michigan thus, by precedent, bound herself to the policy of encouraging schools not supported or entirely controlled by the state. The decision was doubtless a wise one.

There is much force in the arguments used by Mr. Pierce against the indiscriminate granting of charters to any and all applicants who wish to set up a school. Especially would it be derogatory to public interest to allow such institutions, once established, to offer whatever instruction they might please, without supervision of scope, standard, and efficiency of the work undertaken. Ludicrous indeed is the situation found in some states even to-day, in which second- and third-class institutions are permitted to grant academic degrees for work that is not equal to that done in many a good high school.¹

On the other hand, absolutely to prohibit by legal enactment all intelligent experimenting by private individuals, or to discourage educational institutions, which by the very nature of their work and the limited circle to which they appeal cannot advantageously be provided by the public, would be to injure and disable and weaken the state much more than the presence of a few inferior and unnecessary schools could do. To illustrate the unwisdom of a complete prohibition of private initiative in education one has only to recall the long period and process of private tutelage that had first to be undergone by the kindergartens, manual training schools,

¹ Propriety and courtesy prevent giving the names of specific institutions. There are such institutions in nearly all parts of the Union, as all pretty well know. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have a number of such pretentious schools, and possibly Michigan is not wholly without them.

commercial schools, industrial schools, and other institutions of similar kinds before they were incorporated into the public-school system. Mr. Pierce's recommendations were worthy of consideration as a check to hasty and ill-timed legislative action, but as a formulation of principles for an unvarying and permanent policy they were dangerous.

With the incorporation of Michigan College the way was open for other educational ventures, and from this date academies, seminaries, and colleges gradually found recognition in the Michigan school system. Nevertheless, though the threatened legal obstruction was removed, other circumstances existed which, temporarily, checked any considerable growth of private schools, nor was the number ever large in Michigan in comparison with the numbers found in many other states. After 1846, and before the public high school appeared prominently, there was an era of considerable activity in schools of these kinds. We shall recur to this movement later.

In the meantime true public secondary education was being given in the "branches" of the university. A consideration of these shall constitute the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

BRANCHES OF THE UNIVERSITY

IT WILL be recalled that the territorial act of 1817 provided that a series of secondary branch schools should be established under the authority of the university. By the act of 1821 the same idea was reëmphasized. The state constitution of 1835 expressly spoke of "branches" in connection with the university, and obviously implied that schools of secondary grade should be provided and should be made dependent on that institution. Superintendent Pierce in his first report outlined a scheme for such schools, and when the law creating the present university was approved, March 18, 1837, the idea was incorporated in the act.

The control of the university was placed in the hands of twelve regents appointed by the governor, together with other *ex officio* members. These were the governor of the state, the lieutenant-governor, the justices of the Supreme Court of Michigan, the chancellor of the university, and the chancellor of the state. Among other duties this board was required, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, to establish branches of the university in various parts of the state, and to prescribe rules and regulations for their administration.

The first report of Mr. Pierce recommended that any county which possessed a sufficient population and which should agree to furnish a school site and buildings should be entitled to a branch. To secure local interest and to provide for local administration a board of eleven persons was to be required. Six of these were to be appointed

by the County Board of Supervisors, one by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the other four members were to be *ex officio* the county judge of probate, two associate county judges, and the county clerk. This local board of trustees was to have the general control of the school, to appoint teachers, and to make an annual report to a County Board of Visitors. This last board was to consist of three members,—two appointed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and one by the County Board of Supervisors.¹ The duties of the Board of Visitors were to visit the branch annually, to examine its work and administration, and to report to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The support of the branch was to come in part from appropriations made by the regents from the university fund; a like amount collected in the county by means of a direct county tax; and tuitions. In addition every county that complied with the law was to have a bonus from the state of five hundred dollars for books and apparatus.²

Every branch was to contain three departments: the Classical, the English, and the Normal Training. The tuition in the Normal Department was to be free to all who would pledge themselves to complete the course of three years and then teach in the schools of the state four years longer. The tuition in the English Department was not to exceed ten dollars a year, and in the Classical, twelve dollars. In the Normal or Teachers' Department the following studies were recommended: "The English language; writing and drawing; arithmetic, mental and written, and bookkeeping; geography and general history combined, and history of the United States; geometry,

¹ In Michigan each civil township elects annually one supervisor who assesses property for taxes, and acts as the chief executive officer of the township. The aggregate body of township supervisors in the county constitute *ex officio* the County Board of Supervisors.

² Smith, *History of Education in Michigan*, pp. 39 ff.

trigonometry, mensuration and surveying; natural philosophy and elements of astronomy; geology and chemistry; constitution of the United States and the laws and duties of public officers; principles of teaching; rhetoric; algebra; the nature of man as a physical, intellectual, and moral being, and his relations."¹

The act as finally passed contained the essential features of this recommendation, but omitted many of the details. It placed more power and discretion in the hands of the regents. The county was not necessarily to be the basis for organization, but branches were to be opened by the regents (with the superintendent coöperating) in such places as the legislature might authorize. They were to be essentially boys' schools, and rules and regulations were to be prescribed by the regents.

The law required that in at least one branch an agricultural department should be established having "Competent instructors in the theory of agriculture, including vegetable physiology and agricultural chemistry, and experimental and practical farming and agriculture."²

Each branch was to have, as recommended, a normal school for the training of primary-school teachers, and such other departments as the regents deemed necessary.

In connection with each branch there was also to be, as soon as suitable buildings could be secured, "an institution for the education of females."³

When a branch was actually established the law provided that there should be "apportioned to each such sums for the support of its professors and teachers, and also such other sums for the purchase of books and apparatus, as the state of the University fund shall warrant and allow."⁴

¹ *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1852, p. 26.*

² *Revised Statutes of Michigan, 1838, p. 237, sec. 21.*

³ *Ibid.*, sec. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 22.

At the same session, on March 20, 1837, an act was passed locating the university at Ann Arbor. The law specified that the university should consist of three departments: (1) The Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts; (2) The Department of Law; and (3) The Department of Medicine.

The first recommendations made by the superintendent provided that in the department of literature, science, and the arts "there should ultimately be established the following professorships: ancient languages, modern languages, philosophy of history and logic, philosophy of the human mind, moral philosophy, theology, political economy, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, botany and zoölogy, fine arts, and civil engineering and drawing.

The law permitted the establishment of most of these chairs. But theology, for obvious reasons, was excluded.

The regents at their first meeting, held July 5, 1837, decided not to attempt to open the university at once, but to give their first attention to the establishment of branches, which, in the course of four years, it was expected, would have prepared a class ready for entrance to the main university. To this end they voted to open eight such schools of secondary grade and to appropriate eight thousand dollars to aid the payment of teachers in them. Before the first of January, 1839, five such branches were organized and put into actual operation. These were located at Pontiac, Monroe, Kalamazoo, Detroit, and Niles.¹

¹ The dates on which the principal instructors were appointed by the regents, and on which the schools may justly be said to have been founded, were as follows: Pontiac, Sept. 15, 1837; Monroe, Feb. 19, 1838; Kalamazoo, May 1, 1838; Detroit, May 20, 1838; and Niles, Sept. 14, 1838. (See "Report of Regents" in *Michigan Documents of the House*, 1839.) The branch at Detroit was looked upon by many as being the superior branch and as constituting, temporarily, the main university. When the real university was opened in Ann Arbor, and the appropriations to the branches reduced, the Detroit branch suspended.

The number of pupils enrolled at the time was 161, distributed as follows: Pontiac, 27; Monroe, 63; Kalamazoo, 22; Detroit, 40; Niles, 9. Of these, ten were expected to be qualified in September, 1839, for teachers of the common schools, and six were expected to be ready for admission to the university. "In 1840," continues the regents' report, "thirty students will be ready to enter the freshman or perhaps sophomore classes in the university. In 1841, thirty-five will be ready and in 1842 forty. The total students whose parents design them for a liberal education number 101, with ten reported or destined for teachers, and 50 whose future ambitions were not revealed." Needless, perhaps, to say, all these were boys. No "female institution" had in 1838 yet been added to any school, nor was the university, as conceived at this time, intended for any but the male sex. The admission of girls to the university did not begin until 1870.

The attitude of the local committees toward the branches was gratifying indeed. It was the policy of the regents to throw much of the burden of the support of these schools upon the local communities.

These furnished the buildings and the equipment and the regents paid the salaries. All fees or tuitions, however, went to the university and not to the local authorities. Under these conditions towns seemed to vie with each other in securing recognition and in having a branch of the university set up in their midst. In 1839 schools had been opened at White Pigeon and Tecumseh, though the one at Kalamazoo was temporarily discontinued. In this year there were employed by the university six teachers who acted as principals of the branches, and six assistants or tutors. Two of the latter were women. The average number of pupils under instruction was 222.¹

¹ Regents' Report, 1839, *Joint Documents of Michigan*, 1840.

"Wherever a branch has been established," said the regents, "it has not only received the decided approbation and support of the inhabitants in its immediate vicinity, but has continued regularly to increase in number of students from time to time."¹

The *Report* of 1840 was equally cheerful and optimistic. "A steady increase of number has taken place in the respective terms for the year," reads one of its sentences. The number of teachers and professors then employed numbered 20, while the average attendance was 236 students. "Female institutions" or departments were opened in four of the branches during this year. These were at Monroe, White Pigeon, Niles, and Tecumseh.²

Still, there is in the *Report* an inkling of doubts and fears. The regents refer to the work of the Committee on Branches as having "encountered an arduous task in the management of the correspondence, the selection of principals, and the pecuniary questions which required decision and adjustment." There is also an echo of the religious quarrels and criticisms, since the regents took care publicly to announce that "of the seven branches established five are under the direction of clergymen and two of laymen of various religious denominations." Ever since Mr. Pierce's adverse recommendations respecting the easy incorporation of denominational schools a large constituency in the state had viewed every move toward public education as a covert attack upon religion and religious teaching. Even this early the university regents had to confront the charge that they were seeking to establish and perpetuate Godless schools. There can be little doubt that their public avowal of their choice of clergymen as principals was made to allay adverse public opinion.

¹ Report of Regents in *State Documents of House of Representatives for 1839*.

² Regents' reports for 1840, in *Joint Documents*, 1841, pp. 399 ff.

Meanwhile the erection of the buildings constituting the main body of the University had been going on at Ann Arbor. The nucleus of a library and the beginnings of some necessary apparatus had already been made, and the university proper was ready to open its doors. This was in 1841.¹ It was evident, however, to the Board of Regents that the scant university funds—made scantier by the legislative relief and rebate acts of that and the previous year—would not be sufficient to carry on the growing work of the branches and at the same time the work in the central college, and to bestow upon both the proper and necessary attention. The value of the branches in stimulating public interest in education had been immeasurable. There was a demand on all sides not only that those already in operation should be continued but that others should speedily be opened. The regents themselves shared these views, as did both the retiring Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. Pierce, and his successor, Mr. Franklin Sawyer. Still, good judgment dictated that if the university proper was ever to command the equal and whole-hearted support of the people of the state that the other educational institutions did, its opening ought not be deferred longer. Every day that the branches increased in strength and popularity the difficulties of opening the university increased. Every day that the denominational influences strengthened, the popular interest in a complete system of secular public education diminished. It seemed to the

¹ When the university opened there were six students admitted to the freshman class, and one to the sophomore. The preparatory department, or Ann Arbor branch, was opened at the same time with twenty-five students enrolled. (Report of the Faculty in *Joint Documents*, 1842, p. 389.) Candidates for admission to the university at this time were examined in arithmetic, the elements of algebra, geography, Cicero's orations, Sallust, Vergil, Jacob's *Greek Reader*, the Four Gospels, and Latin and Greek prosody. (Report of Executive Committee of Regents, 1841, in *Joint Documents*, 1842, p. 388.) With the exception of a term's work in rhetoric, grammar, and natural history, the whole freshman course was made up of Latin, Greek, and mathematics. In 1842 the enrollment in the university was twenty-five. (*Joint Documents*, 1843, p. 371.)

regents that the time was then or never; that, if the opening were deferred, the university never would be able to gain the prestige and power that was hoped and promised; and that unless the articulation were made then, the university never could become the real integral part of the public-school system that had been planned.

With these reflections to guide them the regents decided definitely to delay no longer but to open the university that year.¹ To do this it was voted to curtail the expenditures and contributions for the branches. Instead of paying the teachers' salaries and receiving in their treasury the income from tuitions, they determined to appropriate the gross sum of five hundred dollars to each principal, and to allow him to receive the tuitions for himself. Out of these funds he was expected to find his own salary, to pay his own assistant teachers, and to meet the other current expenses of the school. This action caused the branches at Pontiac, Monroe, and Niles to suspend at once. The others continued their work and were more or less successful.²

The following year, 1842, saw another reduction in the university appropriations. Then, in addition to the tuition fees, only two hundred dollars were allowed each branch. There was dissatisfaction and complaint in many quarters. The principals at White Pigeon and Tecumseh resigned, but others were appointed in their stead and the work went on. The branches now numbered five. These were Detroit, Kalamazoo, Tecumseh, White Pigeon, and Ann Arbor. The total enrollment this year was 210, of whom 113 were in the Classical or College Preparatory Department.³

¹ The exact date of the opening of the literary department was Sept. 20, 1841.

² The branches left were those at Detroit, Kalamazoo, Tecumseh, White Pigeon, and Ann Arbor. These had an aggregate enrollment of "147 males and 100 females." (Report of Committee on Branches, *Joint Documents*, 1842, p. 391.)

³ *Joint Documents*, 1843, p. 287.

The same five institutions existed in 1843, but the enrollment was reduced to 174, with 110 in the Classical Course. Late in the year a new branch was opened at Romeo.¹

In 1844 the branches numbered six, with the whole number of students increased to 298. Among these were 72 women.²

The next year, 1845, the regents reported about 300 students in the branches, and seemed hopeful that the dark days were nearly over.³

In 1846 reports were received from the branches at White Pigeon, Kalamazoo, Tecumseh, and Romeo, which collectively showed an enrollment of 287 students. Of these 126 were women, and 112 were in the classical departments. "No reports," said the Committee on Branches, "have been received from either the Pontiac, Niles, or Monroe branch."⁴ This statement implies that there were, counting the preparatory school at Ann Arbor, eight branches existing at this date, the Detroit branch being the only one not in operation.

With the opening of the schools in the fall of 1846 evil days befell. Then only four branches resumed operations. During this school year the Committee on Branches recommended that no more university aid should be extended to these schools, and the regents concurred in the recommendation. The Committee on Branches was therefore dismissed,⁵ and no further reports of the regents are to be found on the subject.

Early in 1847, therefore, the regents fully abandoned all attempts to support the two types of schools—secondary

¹ Report of Committee on Branches, *Joint Documents*, 1843.

² *Ibid.*, for 1844, p. 54. The schools this year were at Kalamazoo, White Pigeon, Tecumseh, Romeo, Monroe, and Ann Arbor. The Monroe branch was revived this year, after a suspension of two years.

³ *Joint Documents*, 1845, No. 5, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1847, p. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1848, No. 5.

and higher—and gave their whole attention to the latter. After this date no further appropriation was made to any branch,¹ though some branches continued to struggle along on their own resources. After this date, too, no reports seem to have been made by any branch save that at Romeo. This school continued to thrive to a greater or less degree for two or three years. Its last report was made in 1851. At that time the Romeo branch alone had 201 students, of whom 43 were pursuing classical studies, 19 French, and 127 the higher mathematics and branches of higher English education.²

Thus, after an attempt extending over a period of ten years of actual effort and thirty years of theoretical agitation and legal authorization, and after more than thirty thousand dollars had been expended in trying to sustain it, the policy of conducting a university with dependent branches was abandoned, never to be revived.³

Each branch, as we have seen, was to have a Classical, an English, and a Normal-Training Department, and in at least one branch there was to be a Department of Agriculture. So far as the records disclose, this last department never was established. The other departments were common to each school.

Admission to any branch was secured by merely passing a preparatory or entrance examination. Likewise, too, graduates of the classical departments of these schools, though prepared specifically for the university, were subjected to an entrance examination when they came up for admission to Ann Arbor. The first

¹ For the sake of testing the constitutionality of the law before the Supreme Court an appropriation of ten dollars was later made to the Romeo branch, and the rest withheld.

² *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1851*, p. 63.

³ All told, therefore, eight such branches had been opened, or, if the preparatory school of Ann Arbor be regarded as a branch, nine had been established. Quasi-branches were also located at Mackinaw, Jackson, Utica, Ypsilanti, and Coldwater, but no appropriations were made by the regents for their support.

announcement¹ of the regents on the subject describes the terms and conditions of entrance thus: "Applicants for admission (to the university proper) must adduce satisfactory evidence of good moral character, and sustain an examination in geography, arithmetic, the elements of Algebra, the grammar of the English, Latin, and Greek languages, the exercises and reader of Andrews, Cornelius Nepos, Vita Washingtonii, Sallust, Cicero's Orations, Jacob's Greek Reader and the evangelists."²

These admission requirements suggest the nature of the Classical Course in the branches. Unfortunately no entire program of studies of the work given in these early schools is at hand. In 1851, after the branches had been abandoned by the regents, the Romeo branch did make a rather elaborate report directly to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. This report is extant. This branch, it will be recalled, was the latest to be organized, and doubtless it was built on stronger local support than were some of the others. The school was perpetuated beyond 1847, in the faith, apparently, that the regents would soon return to their earlier policy of rendering university aid. At least the university grant of ten dollars, and the amicable agreement to carry the question of legal relationship before the Supreme Court, indicate that all hope of organic affiliation with the university was not at that time abandoned.

Consequently, considering all the circumstances, one may fairly infer that this branch represented the university schools at their strongest and best.

The *Report* in question, signed by President D. C. Walker, is dated Romeo, Macomb County, Jan. 20, 1851, and contains a statement of the conditions of the

¹ Made in 1844.

² McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, p. 41; or see catalogue for 1843-44.

school for the previous year. The number of students in attendance was given as 201. Of this number 43 pursued the study of the Latin or Greek languages or both; 19 the French language; and 127 the higher mathematics, together with the higher branches of an education."¹ Apparently at this date the branch was not only giving studies that prepared for admission to the university but in addition was regularly offering the equivalent of the first year's work in the university itself, for we read: "12 of the classical students pursued the studies of the freshman year in college, and four have entered college—one, Brown University; one, Williams' College; and two our university; all entered the sophomore class."²

At this time there were five members of the corps of teachers. These were Charles H. Palmer, A.M., principal and instructor in mathematics, chemistry, and natural philosophy; Charles C. Torrey, A.B., instructor in ancient languages, rhetoric, and moral philosophy; Mrs. B. A. Palmer, principal of the female department and instructor in French, botany, and history; Miss Sarah J. Gillett, instructor in physiology and natural history; and George A. Hoyt, instructor in music, vocal and instrumental.

These items reveal what was apparently the whole program of studies and the scope of the instruction. One, can infer from it, too, that the size of certain classes must have been relatively large, each teacher having an average of forty pupils.

The academic year was divided into three terms of fifteen weeks each. These began respectively, in 1851, on April 1, August 19; and December 9. Tuition was charged as follows:

¹ *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1851, p. 61.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Elementary branches, per term of 15 weeks.....	\$ 3.00
Common English branches, per term of 15 weeks.....	4.00
Higher English branches, per term of 15 weeks.....	5.00
Latin, Greek, and French, per term of 15 weeks.....	6.00
Instruction on the piano, per term of 15 weeks.....	10.00

The president called particular attention, also, to the school apparatus the institution possessed. In addition to a "cabinet of minerals" there was "extensive chemical, philosophical, and astronomical apparatus costing more than \$500." "The telescope," continues the report, "is a fine achromatic, capable of showing clearly the moons and belts of Jupiter, and the rings of Saturn. This apparatus has been selected with great care, and is considered one of the most complete in the West."¹

These sentences show that laboratory demonstrations, if not individual experimentations, formed a part of the instruction at the time. They also reveal the great interest that was taken in astronomy sixty years ago.

The president laments the fact that meteorology is not given greater attention by the regents or by the state legislature. "Accurate meteorological tables," said he, "kept at different points would do much to correct an erroneous impression in reference to the climate of the state, which its latitude is calculated to produce. On account of its proximity to the great lakes the climate is much milder than is generally supposed; and, no doubt, these observations will show that the mean temperature of the southern half of this state is higher than that of the interior of Ohio. The meteorology of the region bordering on the great lakes would possess high scientific value and it would at the same time contribute greatly to show the congeniality of the climate to the most valuable agricultural products of the country, as well as to promote the safe navigation of the lakes, that add

¹ *Report*, pp. 64, 66.

so much to the commercial importance of the State."¹

Evidently the early reports and traditions respecting the state had not yet wholly lost their subversive effects, and there was still need of correcting the false impressions before the world. The suggestions also indicate that the study of science in its various phases had already gained a firm foothold in the schools, even in schools whose prime function was to prepare youths for admission to colleges that still emphasized classical culture.

The *Report* further states that "during the Fall term particular attention is given to a class of young ladies and gentlemen desirous of qualifying themselves for teaching. This class is reviewed in all studies usually pursued in primary schools. Frequent lectures are given upon subjects connected with their profession and no pains are spared to enable them to become able and efficient instructors. Those who are found qualified are, if desired, furnished with schools. The number of students connected with this department was 57; who, during some part of the year, were engaged in teaching common schools. . . . The directors of school districts can be supplied with teachers of any desired acquirements, by addressing, early (by the middle of October), the principal, stating the required qualifications, compensation, etc."²

Whether other branches were greatly dissimilar to this, the available records do not disclose. Here, at least, is found a detached department of pedagogical instruction, the like of which was not introduced into the state in a special normal school until the year previous,³ and was not taken up in the university until 1879. No one claims of course that "frequent lectures—given upon subjects connected with their professions" constituted much of a

¹ *Report*, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 66.

³ The law establishing the normal school at Ypsilanti was passed in 1849.

teachers' training college, but they did serve as a beginning and showed the trend of public educational sentiment in the state.

The paragraph quoted also reveals another interesting practice, which since that time has grown to large dimensions in connection with the administration of the university. The Romeo branch had the beginnings of a Teachers' Appointment Committee, and sought, so far as possible, to secure teaching positions for its students. That the fifty-seven students mentioned in the report all received their positions through the direct efforts of the principal may well be doubted, but a published statement of the policy of the school in this respect must have had considerable influence in attracting other students to the doors of the institution.

The *Report* briefly states that "connected with the institution, in a separate room, is a female department. The pupils of this room are under the immediate care of an experienced instructress, but recite to the other teachers when the studies are such as to require it." Here, then, is coeducation with a difference. The female department which started as an "annex" to the boys' school had, here at least, become sufficiently acclimated and correlated to permit the two sexes to meet together in the same recitations; for assembly and study they still were seated in separate rooms. Yet when we recall that girls were not admitted to the university until twenty years later than this, we need be less surprised than pleased that the branches were at this time according them the courtesies, privileges, and rights which they were.¹

Finally, President Walker announced the fact that a flourishing literary society existed in the Romeo branch

¹ The regents by resolution first made clear their policy of admitting women to all departments of the university at their meeting of Jan. 20, 1870. (See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 74.)

whose members met regularly once a week for "purposes of extemporaneous debate." "Essays and addresses are occasionally delivered before the society," said he, "and all proceedings are conducted in a manner calculated to promote the improvement of its members."

This kind of student activity, quasi-academic and quasi-recreative as it was, was characteristic of the academy and college in all parts of the land at the time. Indeed, it seems to have been nearly the sole diversion that was allowed with the hearty approval of the faculties. The more or less stern religious spirit that dominated most schools of the period precluded many amusements which to-day are generally regarded as either negatively harmless or else positively beneficial, while the reign of athletics had not yet been inaugurated. The literary society of the academy, the university branch, and the college was but a modified form of the rural spelling school and lyceum. All served their generation well.

One can only regret that complete records that could reveal the other characteristics and internal organization and workings of these early branches are lacking. It is certain they served a helpful purpose in stimulating an interest in secondary education and a university training, and they surely brought the schools of both types into prominence and into a close relation with the body of citizens of the state. Still, the branches served directly only a relatively small number of people, and filled a social need that, by many, was considered not proportionate to the efforts put forth. "Notwithstanding the pains taken to adapt these institutions to the public exigencies," said Dr. Pitcher in a memorial addressed to posterity and incorporated in the report of the regents for 1852 (a more extended quotation from which is attached at the end of this chapter), "so that their legitimate

function could be performed without infringing upon another portion of the educational system, they soon began to decline in popular estimation, because they were not able at the same time to perform the functions of a common school as well as those of a branch of the university. A feeling of jealousy was awakened in the minds of those whose children were excluded from them from want either of age or qualifications. Consequently they were soon regarded as places for the education of the (so-called) aristocracy of the state, and the University through the influences of the branches began to be spoken of as enemy to popular education."¹

Since the prime purpose of the branches was to prepare a body of students for the university, a consideration of the work done in that institution at the time may here be in place.

It has been noted in earlier pages of this sketch that the university, though organized on paper as early as 1817 and reorganized in 1821 and in 1837, did not really come into existence and open its doors for the admission of pupils until 1841. While the branches were preparing a body of students for admission, the authorities at Ann Arbor were preparing buildings, apparatus, and a faculty to receive them. In 1839, Dr. Asa Gray was chosen as the first professor and was given the chair of botany and zoölogy. Since the buildings were not ready, and Dr. Gray desired to visit Europe anyway, he was given leave of absence, and the sum of five thousand dollars was placed at his disposal with which to purchase books for the new university library and needed apparatus for classroom demonstrations.² The following year Dr. Houghton was appointed professor of geology and mineralogy.³ The

¹ Dr. Zina Pitcher's "Memorial" in the report of the regents contained in the *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1852, p. 315.

² *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1852, p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

next year two other professors were added,¹ so that when the university opened for work on September 20, 1841, it had a staff of four teachers. The students this year numbered seven.² The first catalogue of the university was published in 1844. At that time the faculty numbered three professors, one tutor, one assistant in science, and one visiting lecturer. The number of students had increased to fifty-three. The program of studies offered at this time was as follows:

PROGRAM OF STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN IN 1843³

YEAR	TERM	LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE	MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS	INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL SCIENCE
1	1	Folsom's <i>Livy</i> , Xenophon's <i>Cyropaedia</i> and <i>Anabasis</i>	Bourdon's <i>Algebra</i>	
	2	<i>Livy</i> finished, Horace, Thucydides, Herodotus, Roman Antiquities	Algebra, Legendre's <i>Geometry</i> , Botany	
	3	Horace finished, Homer's <i>Odyssey</i>	Geometry, Mensuration, Application of Algebra to Geometry	
2	1	Cicero's <i>de Senectute</i> and <i>de Amicitia</i> , Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes	Plane and Spherical Trigonometry	Logic
	2	Cicero's <i>de Oratore</i> , Greek tragedy, Grecian Antiquities, Newcomb's <i>Rhetoric</i>	Davies' <i>Descriptive and Analytical Geometry</i>	
	3	Tacitus' <i>Vita Agricola</i> and <i>Germanii</i> , Greek tragedy	Analytic Geometry, Bridge's <i>Conic Sections</i>	

¹ Mr. George Williams was made professor of mathematics and Rev. Joseph Whiting, professor of Latin and Greek. See *Report*, p. 83.

² Faculty Report in *Joint Documents*, 1842, p. 389.

³ *Joint Documents*, 1852, p. 388.

YEAR	TERM	LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE	MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS	INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL SCIENCE
3	1	Cicero's <i>de Officiis</i> , Greek poetry	Olmstead's <i>Natural Philosophy</i> , Zoölogy	Abercrombie's <i>Intellectual Power</i> , Paley's <i>Natural Theology</i>
	2	Terence, Greek poetry, General grammar	Natural Philosophy, Chemistry	
	3	Whiteley's <i>Rhetoric</i>	Olmstead's <i>Astronomy</i> , Chemistry, Mineralogy	
4	1	Lectures on Greek and Latin languages and literature	Geology, Calculus	Stuart's <i>Intellectual Philosophy</i> , Cousin's <i>Psychology</i>
	2			Whiteley's <i>Logic</i> , Wayland's <i>Moral Science</i> , Political Grammar
	3			Studies of Constitution. Wayland's <i>Political Economy</i> , Butler's <i>Analogy</i>

NOTE: The first commencement of the university was held August 6, 1845, at which time eleven students were given their A.B. degree. (McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.)

Even a superficial analysis of this program discloses that Latin, Greek, and pure and applied mathematics constitute the bulk of the studies.¹ In the fourth or senior year the emphasis is shifted to the intellectual and moral sciences. The course was rigidly prescribed, and consequently the preparatory studies pursued in the branches had to be dogmatically laid down. The requirements for

¹ That is to say, in 1843 there were offered, all told, in the University of Michigan, fifty term courses. Of these, Latin, Greek, and mathematics included 26; natural science, 9; intellectual science, 5; moral and religious science, 3; political science, 3; English, 4.

admission to the university,¹ together with the program of studies as set forth above, show that the University of Michigan was following pretty closely the ideals and forms set by the older colleges and universities. Very soon, however, this over-emphasis of the classics—especially of Greek—found critics. The State Board of Visitors appointed to inspect the university, to make a report, and to offer recommendations declared that they had given some attention to the relative importance of the subjects of the course of study, and that they believed certain modifications were desirable.²

They called attention to the fact that the total number of recitations and lectures given in the university in 1850 was 2,545. Of these, 330 were devoted to Latin; 630 to Greek; 495 to mathematics, pure and mixed; 236 to modern languages; and 854 to all other subjects. They thereupon recommended that Greek and Latin be treated alike and assigned 400 recitation periods each a year; that mathematics be given 500 meetings; and that French and German be increased to 200 class recitations each.

The *Annual Report* of the regents for the same year gives the admission requirements as follows: "Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class must not be less than fourteen years of age, and must sustain an examination in English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra through simple equations, first part of *Kreb's Guide to the Writing of Latin*, *Latin Reader*, *Cornelius Nepos* (*Arnold's*), *Cicero's Orations against Catiline*, *Vergil's Aeneid*, *Greek Reader to the poetry*, the four Gospels, *Latin and Greek Grammar*, *Keightley's Grecian and Roman History*."³

Each class was required to attend three recitations or lectures daily, except Saturday and Sunday. On the

¹ These are given on page 135 of this chapter.

² *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1851, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, 1852, p. 267.

former day there was held one exercise in elocution. This would give the familiar sixteen hours a week schedule that is known at present. There were "also frequent exercises in translation, composition and oral and written disputation"—the word "also" implying that these were subjects carried in addition to the regular sixteen hours' work. Public examinations were held at the close of each term, and were attended by the regents and the Board of Visitors sitting in their official capacities. All students were required to attend chapel exercises daily in the college hall, and to attend public worship each Sabbath in some one of the churches in Ann Arbor. Monday mornings throughout the four years there were compulsory classes in Bible study. In the freshman year the Gospels were the basis of work; in the sophomore year, the Acts; in the junior and senior years, the Epistles. The textbook was the Greek Testament.

The year's work was divided into three terms of thirteen weeks each. There were two weeks of vacation at Christmas time; three at Easter; and eight in the summer. Commencement was held the third Wednesday in July, and the fall term opened the second week in September. All admissions were still by examination only.

The only charges of the institution at this time were a matriculation fee of ten dollars, and a sum ranging from five dollars to seven dollars and fifty cents a year for room rent and the services of the janitor. Tuition was wholly gratuitous. "Including board, washing, and books the necessary expenses of a student for a year will range from \$70 to \$100."¹ This was in 1850.

Only slight changes had been made in the program of studies since 1843. In 1850 it was as follows.²

¹ Taken from the college catalogue for 1850 and given in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1852, p. 269.

² *Ibid.*

FRESHMAN YEAR

FIRST TERM

Livy (Lincoln's or Folsom's), Roman Antiquities (Eschenberg's *Manual*), Homer's *Odyssey* (Owen's), Bourdon's *Algebra*, Newman's *Rhetoric*.

SECOND TERM

Livy, Ancient History, Grecian Antiquities (Eschenberg's *Manual*), Homer's *Odyssey*, *Algebra*, Legendre's *Geometry*.

THIRD TERM

Horace's *Odes*, Xenophon's *Anabasis* (Owen's), *Geometry*, Botany, Zoölogy.

Monday morning throughout the year, Greek Testament (Gospels).

SOPHOMORE YEAR

FIRST TERM

Newman's *Rhetoric*, Horace's *Satires*, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Conic Sections.

SECOND TERM

Analytical Geometry and Calculus, Tacitus' *Germaniae* and *Agri-colae* (Tyler's), Demosthenes' *de Corona*, Isocrates.

THIRD TERM

Sophocles, Cicero's *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*, French.

Monday morning throughout the year, Greek Testament (Acts).

JUNIOR YEAR

FIRST TERM

Wayland's *Political Economy*, Logic, French, Olmstead's *Natural Philosophy*.

SECOND TERM

Tacitus' *Historia*, Euripides, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy.

THIRD TERM

German, Blair's *Rhetoric*, Olmstead's *Astronomy*.

Monday mornings throughout the year, Greek Testament (Epistles).

SENIOR YEAR

FIRST TERM

Geology, Upham's *Mental Philosophy*, German.

SECOND TERM

Upham's *Mental Philosophy* (3d Vol.), Whiteley's *Logic*, Wayland's *Moral Science*, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity.

THIRD TERM

Butler's *Analogy*, Plato's *Gorgias*.

Monday mornings throughout the year, Greek Testament (Epistles).

The total number of students in 1850 was 72. Ten years later it was 519; in 1880-81 it reached 1,534;¹ in 1907-8 the total was 5,010;² and in 1913-14 the members aggregated 6,857.³ Of these, more than 1,200 were women.

Naturally the branches had to keep step with this restricted program of the university; — at least the preparatory or classical departments had to do so. In consequence, as we have seen, popular approval was gradually withdrawn from both types of institution. In 1850, the date of the program given above, the Romeo branch was the only one in existence, and this was supported by local funds. Still, at this very time there was a demand on the part of the more progressive citizens and the lovers of popular education that the branches be revived and supported. Indeed, pressure was brought to bear upon the legislature so that a law was enacted requiring the regents to continue their appropriations to the branches. This act placed the authorities in an embarrassing position. Though eager and ready to comply, the state of finances was still such as to render impossible a just and adequate maintenance for both the university and the dependent schools. To attempt to do so, the regents felt, would cripple both and lead finally to a retrograde movement in all that had been planned. Fortunately — or unfortunately — the courts came to the aid of the university, and disposed of the difficulty by setting aside the newly enacted law and by so

¹ *President's Report*, 1881, p. 1. The Department of Medicine was opened in 1851; that of Law in 1860; those of Homeopathy and Dentistry in 1876; that of Pharmacy in 1877.

² *Catalogue*, 1907-8, p. 470. In 1906-7 there were 741 women students enrolled. *President's Report*, 1907, p. 2.

³ *Catalogue*, 1914-15, p. 707.

construing the constitution that the regents were given full power to deal with the university as they thought wise. Left free to act as judgment dictated, the regents took no further notice of the conflicting requests, but left the branches, as they had been left since 1846, to live or die as fate might decide.

All hope of their official revival was now abandoned, and the friends of public education directed their view and attention to secondary schools of other kinds. Such institutions had, as we have hinted, already become well started, and from this date they advanced rapidly. Thus died the branches of the University of Michigan.

As a final justification of their policy carried out during the fourteen years, the regents authorized one of their number, Dr. Zina Pitcher, to prepare an address that was printed and distributed over the state. The most significant parts of this address are here appended:¹

Having selected the site of the University, secured the means of erecting the buildings, purchasing the library, and of having other things necessary to lay its foundation, it became apparent that the materials for the construction of the living edifice were not at hand. The blocks for the statuary were in the quarry, but there were no hands to hew them into form. Our political and social institutions were yet in a transition state. The common schools were then in chaos, and our whole system of Public Instruction in the state, at best, [was in a condition] of inchoation. Believing that the attempt to establish or organize the University at this stage of our political existence, in this condition of the other educational institutions of the state, would prove abortive, the regents resolved (as a constitutional authority or warrant for so doing had not then been questioned,) to invert the order of things contemplated in the organic law, and proceed at once to the establishment of *branches* as a means of furnishing the elements necessary to give vitality to the central institution, when the time for appointing its Faculty should arrive.

¹ The address in full is found on pages 312 ff. of *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1852*. It epitomizes the transactions of the regents from 1837 to June 30, 1851.

In order to carry this purpose into effect, the committee on branches was authorized to employ an agent to visit the different sections of the state and engage the coöperation of citizens living at such points as seemed most suitable for the establishment of branches, and report his doings to the Board. This agent, who was restricted to eight localities, reported in favor of locating a branch at Pontiac, Detroit, Monroe, Tecumseh, Niles, Grand Rapids, Palmer and Jackson, the citizens of which were required to furnish the site and the edifice necessary for the accommodation of the pupils. On the fulfillment of these conditions, branches were organized at Monroe, Tecumseh, Niles, White Pigeon, Kalamazoo, Pontiac, Romeo and Detroit. A department for the education of females was added to the branch at Monroe, Tecumseh, White Pigeon, Kalamazoo, and Romeo. Branches were also located at Mackinac, Jackson, Utica, Ypsilanti and Coldwater, but no appropriations were ever made for their support.

On the first organization of the Board of Regents, it included no clerical members. For this reason, the University then *in futuro*, was stigmatized as an infidel affair, which, it was predicted, would fail to perform the functions for which it had been endowed. This prediction was uttered with much confidence in certain quarters, and an act for the incorporation of a sectarian college was urged through the Legislature, partly by the force of an appeal to the religious feeling of the members, based on this accusation. Partly with a view to disarm that kind of opposition, and more especially because they believed it to be a duty, irrespective of it, the Board was careful to introduce the elements of religion into the branches, which they did by the appointment of clergymen of the different denominations as principals thereof.

In the adoption of rules for the government of the branches, special care was taken to guard the common school interest from injury, by requiring candidates for admission to undergo a preparatory examination. Tuition was to be paid in advance. A treasurer was appointed for each branch, who was required to make a report of the funds in his hands, at the close of each term. The course of study to be pursued therein was prescribed by the Board of Regents, which embraced the preparation of the pupil for college, his qualification for business, or for teaching, as he might himself elect.

With the design of inducing young men who had been educated at the branches, to engage in the business of instruction,

regulation was adopted which authorized the treasurer to refund the money paid for tuition, to all such persons as should furnish to him evidence of having been engaged in teaching, having regard to the time they had been thus employed. A board of visitors was also appointed for each branch, to whom such powers were delegated as seemed necessary to the practical working of the system.

Notwithstanding the pains taken to adapt these institutions to the public exigencies, so that their legitimate functions could be performed without infringing upon another portion of the educational system, they soon began to decline in popular estimation, because they were not able at the same time to perform the functions of a common school as well as a branch of the University. A feeling of jealousy was awakened in the minds of those whose children were excluded from them either from want of age or qualifications. Consequently they were soon regarded as places for the education of the (so-called) *aristocracy* of the state, and the University, through the influence of the branches, began to be spoken of as an enemy to popular education. If an opinion may be formed of public sentiment by the tone of certain official papers, it would appear that that feeling, instead of becoming extinct, has only changed the mode and place of its appearing.

Finding that the branches were drawing largely upon the fund designed for the construction of the University building, and that they were not satisfactorily accomplishing the end for which they had been established, the Board of Regents, after mature deliberation, being fully assured that the expense of keeping them up was greatly disproportioned to the benefits accruing therefrom, suspended, in 1846, all appropriations for their support, after more than \$30,000 had been expended in trying to sustain them.

Whilst this trial was being made of the utility of branches, Professor Gray was in Europe selecting the library of the University, and Dr. Torrey, of New York, was negotiating the purchase of the Lederer cabinet of foreign minerals, which now constitutes the principal sources of attraction to persons visiting this institution.

From this experimental though abortive effort to build up and sustain branches of the University, the Board have learned, and they deem the lesson of sufficient importance to leave it on record, that local institutions of learning thrive best under the immediate management of the citizens of the place in which they are situated, and when endowed or sustained by their immediate patrons.

CHAPTER VII

THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT

THE second great type of secondary school in Michigan was the academy. While, as elsewhere, this class of schools was not, strictly speaking, a part of the state-supported educational system, the different foundations were nevertheless quasi-public institutions which were chartered and regulated by the state and which the people then regarded essentially as public schools. Certain it is that during the two decades in particular—from 1839 to 1859—the academies and kindred institutions played a notable part in the history of secondary education in Michigan. Indeed, a historical account of the public secondary schools of this state would be wholly incomplete without a brief sketch of the rise and status of the academy.

In earlier chapters we have seen that there were a few private schools of the academy type in Michigan even before the state was admitted into the Union. The records respecting these are, however, scant indeed. For the most part they are the merest legal statements respecting the terms of the charters given, or the briefest accounts of the fact that a particular school was "kept" by a particular person at a particular time and place. This is all. There is nothing available that yields returns worthy of the search. Apparently most, if not all, of these early private schools were of short duration and of doubtful financial success. Many of them taught the classical languages and French,¹ and may, in a sense,

¹Mr. William D. Wilkins, in an article styled "Traditions and Reminiscences of the Public Schools of Detroit," in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 448, speaks of there being "public" schools in Detroit in 1802, 1816, 1823, and, later. Some of these taught the classics, but not one, surely, was a public school in the present meaning of the term.

be looked upon as schools of secondary education. However, since in that age these languages were considered essential for even any true elementary education, it would be equally just to omit from consideration all these schools, as falling below the grade of institutions under treatment in this thesis.

When, too, it is recalled that the total population of Michigan in 1830 numbered only 31,639,¹ and that the real movement toward settling this territory had begun only about five years earlier than this, one is not surprised to learn that even private schools were then few and inferior. Certain it is that previous to 1830 there were in the territory no incorporated schools.² The schools that did exist had a denominational or personal basis, and enjoyed only transitory careers.

Between 1830 and 1836 a number of private academies were founded, and some received legal charters from the territorial government.³ A list of these will be given later. Most of them, however, were short lived,—the only one that enjoyed a permanent existence and exerted a lasting influence being the Spring Arbor Academy, chartered March 23, 1835.

With the admission of Michigan to statehood and the decision of the educational authorities to establish a series of branches of the university, the academy movement was much affected. There was a strong temporary movement forward, followed by a short period of depression, and then again a new advance was made. At first,

¹ U.S. Census Reports.

² Farmer's *History of Detroit*, p. 98.

³ In Detroit alone there were the following unincorporated schools: the Misses Farrand's Young Ladies' Seminary and Mr. George Wilson's English Classical School, both established in 1830; J. B. Howe's Classical Academy, 1832; D. B. Crane's Classical School, 1833; Messrs. Tappan and Nichols' Detroit Female Seminary, 1833. In 1834 the Mechanics' Society opened the Mechanics' Academy, and also had a Classical School. In 1836 Rev. R. Elms was at the head of the Detroit Classical Academy. There were also at this time Catholic schools in goodly numbers. (See Farmer's *History of Detroit*, pp. 716 ff.)

existing academies sought to be transformed into branches and to be placed under the patronage and dignity of the state. Many new academies were projected, some were organized, and appeals were made to the regents for recognition as branches. When, however, it was seen to be the policy of the state to limit the branches to a relatively small number, enthusiasm for the local private institution waned. Numerous projected undertakings were abandoned altogether, and many that had already been established suffered from neglect and lack of students and funds. For a few years popular interest in secondary education centered in the state-supported branches. Nevertheless, despite these adverse tendencies, nearly every year during this period witnessed the incorporation of a new school of the academy type, so that when in 1846 the regents abandoned the branches to their fates, popular interest turned again to the earlier schools, and an era of renewed prosperity set in. During the next ten years the academy movement reached the height of its importance in Michigan. At the end of that decade the public union schools had secured a firm footing, and the academies gradually disappeared from among the notable educational institutions of secondary grade in the state.

Just how many of these schools there were in the state it is almost impossible to determine. Many, as we have said, seem to have been undertaken with enthusiasm only to be abandoned within a few months or weeks because of lack of funds and patronage.¹ Others arose and had a more or less dazzling success but were never incorporated, and hence left no official records of their work.²

¹ Examples of these are the Utica Female Seminary, incorporated 1844; Clinton Institute, 1846; Woodstock Manual Labor Institute, 1848.

² Two of this kind of which fate has preserved a record are the Misses Clark's Female Seminary at Ann Arbor, opened in 1839, and Dr. Fitch's Detroit Female Seminary, opened in 1841. Neither of these was ever incorporated. (See A. D. P. Van Buren's "The Old Academy and Seminary" in *Mich. Hist. Col.*, Vol. 18, p. 397.)

Others, again, were incorporated; ran a short course; died out; and were later revived under the same or a different name.¹ The question arises — should credit be given for one or two or more schools?

In addition to academies and seminaries there also arose after 1839 several institutions of a similar character which, however, bore the more dignified title of "college," and were empowered to grant degrees and to bestow the privileges that other colleges did. Several of these had attached to them preparatory departments,² and it seems certain, moreover, that in some instances the college course itself was little or no further advanced than the course found in the better class of academies or seminaries.³ For example, the Michigan Central College, chartered in 1845, was not given the right to confer degrees or grant diplomas until five years later, in 1850.⁴

The early history of one of these colleges in particular — Michigan College, located at Marshall — is both interesting and pertinent to our theme. It will be recalled that Superintendent Pierce, when he took charge of education in the state in 1836, favored a highly centralized, monopolistic state system of education. Doubtless overinfluenced by admiration for the Prussian system of government and of school administration, he opposed most stubbornly and vehemently any plan that would tend to undermine or detract from the powers and prestige of the state. Hence he set his great personal influence and the strength of his official position in opposition to any scheme that had for its aim the incorporating of colleges

¹ The Clinton Institute at Mt. Clemens is an illustration of this fact.

² For example, Michigan Central College at Spring Arbor had attached to it the Spring Arbor Academy; Kalamazoo College had a preparatory course; and Wesleyan Seminary and Albion Female College were one and the same institution.

³ I find no exact distinction between these two terms. As a rule, in Michigan, the word *seminary* signified an institution of secondary instruction for women only; the academy was usually coeducational.

⁴ *Joint Documents of Michigan*, 1851, p. 500.

that should be rivals of the state university. The test of power came in 1838 when the trustees of Michigan College sought a charter from the legislature.

The association had existed since 1833 and had looked forward for several years to the realization of the ideal to found a college embodying the particular religious faith of its members. Mr. Pierce fought the plan fiercely before the legislature and based his objections chiefly on the following arguments: (1) If one college is chartered, others will follow until the state will be covered over with little, weak, struggling institutions that will bring college education into contempt; (2) such institutions will divide the patronage of the commonwealth and detract from the University of Michigan; (3) they will create literary factions founded perhaps on religious opinions; and (4) they will introduce "pernicious differences in the course of instruction."

The committee of the legislature to which the question was referred did not, however, share Mr. Pierce's views. The majority report so stated the decision and recommended that the charter be granted. The salient features of that report are worthy of insertion here. One reads: "The majority of your committee have anxiously deliberated upon the evils anticipated by the superintendent in granting the prayer of the petitioners, but have not been able to persuade themselves of their reality. They cannot appreciate the force of the objection made, that by granting the franchise asked, we encourage others to make like requests. . . . They deem it the duty of the legislature not only to prevent all impediments, but to afford facilities for the progress of general education; to speak words of encouragement rather than of restraint to those who volunteer aid; and not from any overweening fondness for one institution or one particular

system to place all others under the ban of power."¹

The next year, in 1839, the college was duly chartered and the way was opened for other similar institutions.

It is not my purpose here to speak of the wisdom or the lack of wisdom of this piece of legislation. The point that concerns us is that from this date other colleges than the State University existed in Michigan, and that in consequence these, too, put forth efforts to secure students and hence exerted their influence to foster preparatory schools of one kind or another. That class of people who aspired to give their children a college education, but who looked upon the State University as non-religious, if not absolutely irreligious, could now find other schools that met their approval and favor. These new centers of higher learning helped, therefore, to spread an interest in knowledge and culture, and hence helped to foster the rise of academies, seminaries, and other institutions giving pre-collegiate instruction. The next few years, therefore, saw a rapid increase in schools of these kinds.

Still one other type of educational institution should be mentioned in this connection. This was the chartered literary society, whose leading purpose was "for moral and intellectual improvement" of its members through mutual self-help. Although not in themselves strictly schools of secondary education, these societies not infrequently pursued studies that belonged to the category of a secondary program of studies, and were the stepping stones for some youths to a full college career.

The Adrian Lyceum and Benevolent Association expressly stated that among other aims it purposed to "provide for the Education of Orphan Children";² while the Lawrence Literary Institute Association, founded in

¹ *House Documents*, 1838, No. 11, p. 120.

² *Joint Documents of the Legislature of Michigan*, 1851, No. 19, p. 541.

1850, had inserted in its charter this section: "Said corporation shall have power to establish in the village of Lawrence, in the County of Van Buren, an institution for the instruction of young persons in the ordinary and higher departments of learning."¹

The first of these associations chartered seems to have been that of the Detroit Young Men's Society in 1836.²

All these societies were liable to be called upon for an annual report to the legislature, but such reports were not made mandatory by the charters. Likewise, too, all chartered educational institutions of other types were expected to make such annual reports. Indeed, the act of 1839 expressly required such reports from all.³ Few, however, complied with the law. In his report of 1849, Superintendent Mayhew said that after examining the laws back as far as 1841 there appeared to be seventeen incorporated literary and educational institutions in the state. Five of these, he added, were subject to visitation by state authorities, just as the university was subject to inspection. These were Adrian Academy, incorporated in 1846; Woodstock Manual Labor Institute, incorporated in 1848; Leoni Seminary, incorporated in 1848; Olivet Institute, incorporated in 1848; and Howell Academy, incorporated in 1848. Three others were required to make annual reports: Vermontville Academical Association, 1846; White Pigeon Academy, 1847; and Clinton Institute, 1846. Eight were not required to report or to be visited by the superintendent,⁴ while one—

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 306, p. 543.

² *Ibid.*, p. 539.

³ *School Law of 1839*, p. 497; also *Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 497. This law required "every organized academy or literary or collegiate institution, heretofore incorporated or hereafter to be incorporated, to cause to be made out—and forwarded—to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, between the 1st and 15th days of December of each year," a complete report of conditions and work of the institution. This law was approved March 4, 1839.

⁴ This statement of Mr. Mayhew's seems to have been made without taking into consideration the general law of 1839, cited above. Of the eight institutions mentioned three were Female Institutions and one a Theological Institute.

the Michigan Central College—was, by law, required to be visited and examined annually by the superintendent in person.¹ How lightly the statutes weighed upon the consciences of the various trustees is seen from the pithy closing sentence: "None have complied with the law."²

Thus, beginning with 1835, there arose in the state a whole series of institutions of a semi-public, semi-private, or denominational character that helped mightily to carry forward secondary education. These were the unchartered schools of one kind or another; the chartered literary associations, academies, seminaries, institutes, and colleges; the branches of the university; and the union schools.³

It may be of interest, especially to citizens of Michigan, to have a complete list of all these chartered schools, together with the dates of their incorporation. I append here such a list:⁴

TITLE	INCORPORATED
1. Ann Arbor Academy, Ann Arbor.....	1830
2. Auburn Academy, Auburn.....	1831
3. White Pigeon Academy, White Pigeon.....	1831
4. Cass County Academy, Cassopolis.....	1833
5. Michigan and Huron Institute, Kalamazoo.....	1833
6. Michigan Manual Labor Institute, Washtenaw Co....	1833
7. Pontiac Academy, Pontiac.....	1833
8. Richland Academy, Richland.....	1833
9. Romeo Academy, Romeo.....	1833
10. Shelby Liberal Institute, Macomb Co.....	1833
11. Spring Arbor Seminary, Spring Arbor ⁵	1835
12. Marshall Academy, White Pigeon.....	1836
13. Detroit Young Men's Society, Detroit.....	1836
14. Kalamazoo Literary Institute, Kalamazoo.....	1837
15. Tecumseh Academy, Tecumseh.....	1838
16. Grass Lake Academy and Female Seminary, Grass Lake.....	1839
17. Grand River Theological Seminary, Orion.....	1839

¹ *Joint Documents*, 1849, No. 6, p. 69.

² The superintendent himself had, of course, visited and examined the Michigan Central College.

³ We shall treat of these in a subsequent chapter.

⁴ This list is compiled from the *Joint Documents*, *Legislative Acts*, *Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*, and other source materials.

⁵ This school was rechartered by an amended act in 1837.

TITLE	INCORPORATED
18. Marshall Female Academy, Marshall	1839
19. Marshall College (Michigan College), Marshall.....	1839
20. St. Philip's College (Catholic), Detroit.....	1839
21. Wesleyan Seminary, Albion ¹	1841
22. Allegan Academy, Allegan.....	1843
23. Utica Female Seminary, Utica.....	1844
24. Grand Rapids Academy, Grand Rapids.....	1844
25. Ann Arbor Female Seminary, Ann Arbor ²	1845
26. Michigan Central College, Spring Arbor.....	1845
27. Ypsilanti Seminary, Ypsilanti.....	1845
28. Adrian Seminary, Adrian.....	1846
29. Adrian Lyceum and Benevolent Association for Orphan Children, Adrian.....	1846
30. Clinton Institute, Mt. Clemens.....	1846
31. Owosso Literary Institute, Owosso.....	1846
32. Vermontville Academical Institution, Vermontville..	1846
33. White Pigeon Academy, White Pigeon.....	1847
34. Raisin Institute, Lenawee Co.....	1847
35. Howell Institute, Howell.....	1848
36. Leoni Theological Institute, Leoni.....	1848
37. Leoni Seminary, Leoni.....	1848
38. Olivet Institute, Olivet.....	1848
39. Woodstock Manual Labor Seminary, Woodstock.....	1848
40. Tecumseh Literary Institute, Tecumseh.....	1849
41. Oakland Female Seminary, Pontiac.....	1849
42. Clinton Institute, Mt. Clemens.....	1850
43. Monroe Young Ladies' Seminary and Collegiate Insti- tute, Monroe.....	1850
44. Clarkston Academical Institute, Clarkston.....	1850
45. St. Mark's College, Grand Rapids.....	1850
46. St. Mary's Academy, Bertrand.....	1850
47. Union Hall Association, Monroe.....	1850
48. Almont Young Men's Society, Almont.....	1850
49. Lawrence Literary Institute Association, Lawrence...	1850
50. Niles Union Hall Association, Niles.....	1850
51. Academy of the Sacred Heart, Detroit.....	1850
52. Albion Female Collegiate Institute, Albion.....	1850
53. Disco Academy, Disco.....	1850
54. Kalamazoo Literary Institute, Kalamazoo.....	1851
55. Dickinson Institute, Romeo.....	1855
56. German English School, Detroit.....	1857
57. Colon Seminary, Colon.....	1858
58. Lapeer Seminary, Lapeer.....	1858
59. Michigan Female Seminary, Kalamazoo.....	1859
60. Michigan Collegiate Institute, Leoni.....	1859
61. Michigan Female College, Lansing.....	1859

¹ This was an amended act. The real incorporation was earlier.

² There was also established at Ann Arbor this same year the Misses Clark School. This was really a seminary, but was distinct from the so-called Female Seminary.

TITLE	INCORPORATED
62. Detroit Female Seminary, Detroit.....	1859
63. German American Seminary, Detroit.....	1863
64. Lansing Academy, Lansing.....	1863
65. Raisin Valley Seminary, Adrian.....	1863
66. Bedford Harmonical Seminary, Calhoun Co.....	1865
67. German English School, Grand Rapids.....	1865
68. Coldwater Female Seminary, Coldwater.....	1866
69. Fenton Seminary, Fenton.....	1868
70. Trinity School, Fenton.....	1868
71. Oak Grove Academy, Medina.....	1873
72. Spring Arbor Seminary, Spring Arbor.....	1873
73. Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake.....	1877
74. Theological School of the Christian Reformed Church, Grand Rapids.....	1878
75. Somerville School, St. Clair.....	1880
76. Seminary of the Felician Sisters, Detroit.....	1882
77. Detroit Home and Day School, Detroit.....	1882
78. Academy of the Sacred Heart, Grosse Point Farms...	1885
79. Akeley Hall, Grand Haven.....	1889
80. St. Mary's Academy, Monroe.....	1890
81. Detroit School for Boys, Detroit.....	1890
82. Cleary Business College, Ypsilanti.....	1891
83. Benton Harbor Collegiate Institute, Benton Harbor..	1892
84. Ferris Institute, Big Rapids.....	1894
85. Michigan Business and Normal College, Battle Creek.	1896
86. International Business College, Saginaw.....	1896
87. Nazareth Academy, Nazareth.....	1897
88. Grand Rapids Business University, Grand Rapids...	1897
89. Fenton Normal School and Business College, Fenton..	1898
90. Ludington Business College, Ludington.....	1898
91. Academy for Ladies of the Loretto, Sault Ste. Marie..	1898
92. St. Mary's School, Sault Ste. Marie.....	1898
93. Ursuline Academy, St. Ignace.....	1899
94. Benzonia Academy, Benzonia.....	1900
95. Jackson Business University, Jackson.....	1901
96. Detroit University School, Detroit.....	1901
97. Holy Rosary Academy, Bay City.....	1901
98. Cedar Lake Academy, Cedar Lake.....	1902
99. Parson's Business College, Kalamazoo.....	1906
100. Valley City Commercial School, Grand Rapids.....	1907

This list evidences the repeated attempts that were made in certain communities to secure a permanent and successful school. It also discloses the variety of titles that were employed to designate schools of the type under consideration. A third and highly interesting fact deduced from the list is the wonderful acceleration of the

academy movement immediately following the suspension of the university branches in 1847 and the gradual abatement of the movement after the legal establishment of public high schools in 1859. The period of seeming depression between 1850 and 1855 is explained by the fact that the revised constitution of the former date forbade granting charters save under the operation of a general law.¹ Such a law was not enacted until 1855. It is also to be observed that most of the private institutions of the academy type founded since 1880 have been either business schools or academic schools established under the control of Catholic orders.

As already pointed out, most of these academical institutions aimed to give an extended and varied elementary and secondary course of study, but with the emphasis always upon the latter phase.

Superintendent Shearman, in his report of 1850, speaks of the incorporated schools thus: "Several of these institutions are doing valuable service to the cause, not only in preparing students for the University, but in bestowing the means upon many of acquiring not only a good, but a classical education."²

While all of these schools were legally recognized by the state, no financial aid was ever granted them. As we have seen in other chapters, provisions for education in Michigan—and for the most part in other states, too—have, until a comparatively recent date, been incongruous and inconsistent in the extreme. The laws afforded a college or university course free to all, and likewise the rudiments of a general elementary education; but they left a wide gap between the two, over which every individual was forced to help himself as best he

¹ All the charters granted up to 1851 were granted by special legislative enactments.

² *Joint Documents*, 1850, No. 6, p. 11.

might. To be sure, the Catholepisterniad had held up another ideal, as did also the later state laws establishing the university with branches. But even in the branches, education was not free. Still, the tuition was nominal. When the branches declined, the gulf between higher and lower education was aggravatingly apparent—*de jure* as well as *de facto*. Then it was that the academies exerted their powers to bridge the chasm, but people were not wholly satisfied.

In general, the friends of education in Michigan at this time may be divided into three classes. One division insisted that the constitution required the regents of the university to maintain the branches, and looked to the courts for the enforcement of the law. A second party, holding that the regents were within their statutory powers, argued however that justice to the children of the state, to the university, and to the academies themselves demanded that the legislature should provide financial support for the private institutions that were willing to comply with certain fair legal requirements. The third class, as we shall see in the following chapter, looked to the expansion and development of the elementary schools as the true solution. Their plan was to make these schools the institutions of secondary training.

Of course there was a fourth party that was more or less indifferent to the whole matter, and urged that events be left to work themselves out as they might.

All the superintendents up to 1850 hoped and advised that the branches be reestablished and maintained by the state. Superintendent Mayhew, however, in his reports for 1855-57, urged upon the legislature the duty of taking over the various academies and seminaries, and of subsidizing them generously. But events were opposed

to both these plans, for by this date the union school had conquered. After a last noble effort the private secondary schools of Michigan gave up the struggle for supremacy and slowly but surely were forced almost entirely out of the field. A few labored on, joined from time to time by new recruits who seemed to think there was a favorable opening for a rehabilitation of the old form. Most, however, in time ceased to exist, or were transformed into colleges, and have continued more or less successful existences down to the present day.¹

While some of the academical institutions were established by religious denominations, the majority seem to have been purely secular in nature and were organized by stock companies. The earlier charters usually made no mention of the amount of stock to be subscribed, but merely gave the organizers the power to "acquire, hold, and convey property, real and personal." Later charters contained clauses limiting the amount of the capital stock and specifying the par value of the shares. The amount of capitalized stock varied with the size of the towns in which the companies were to operate, and with the enthusiasm of the day. In the '40's, stock companies, capitalized at \$50,000 or \$25,000, were not uncommon. Later, \$10,000 seems to have been the more usual sum, though instances of \$5,000 or even \$1,000 are not lacking.² Shares ranged in value from \$5 to \$50 each. The number of trustees ranged from five to twenty-one.³

In the earlier charters the specific aim of the institutions was not mentioned at all. Later charters contain

¹ Kalamazoo College developed out of the Michigan and Huron Institute in 1855. Spring Arbor Academy was merged with the Wesleyan Seminary and Female College at Albion and became Albion College in 1861. Olivet Institute became Olivet College in 1859.

² Spring Arbor Seminary in 1835 was capitalized at \$50,000; Marshall Academy, White Pigeon, in 1836, at \$20,000; Utica Female Academy, in 1844, at \$5,000; Adrian Seminary in 1846, Raisin Institute in 1847, and Howell Academy in 1848, each at \$10,000; Clinton Institute, 1850, at \$1,000.

³ *Joint Documents*, 1851, pp. 497 ff.

expressions like these: "for the instruction of young persons in the ancient and modern languages, or literatures, and the arts and sciences";¹ "an institution of learning for instruction of persons in the various branches of literature and the arts and sciences."²

The limits of this work preclude the consideration of any one of these academies in detail. Still, some of the charters contain peculiarly interesting provisions which help to make clear the popular educational thought of the times. That the University of Michigan was to be considered the standardizing institution is evidenced by the following provisions found in the charters of Michigan Central College and of Marshall College, respectively. One reads there: "The course of study pursued in said college shall be in all respects as comprehensive and thorough as that required or which shall hereafter be required in the University of Michigan."³ Also: "The primary degrees shall not be conferred on any students who shall not have passed through a course of studies, similar or equivalent to, and at least as thorough as that prescribed by the regents of the University for candidates for like degrees."⁴

We also find several interesting provisions respecting religion. Section 10 of the charter of Marshall College reads: "No religious test whatever shall be required from any stockholder, trustee, teacher, or pupil, nor shall the tenets of any particular religious denomination be inculcated in said academy."⁵

And again: "No person shall be excluded from any

¹ Found in section 2 of the charter of Leoni Seminary in 1848. Also found in the charter of Olivet Institute, and others.

² Found in section 2 of the charter for Tecumseh Institute in 1849.

³ Section 14 of an act amendatory to the act chartering Michigan Central College, 1850. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 121, p. 500.)

⁴ Found in section 9 of act incorporating Marshall College, 1839. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 60, p. 511.)

⁵ Incorporating act. (See *Report*, 1852, p. 499, sec. 10.)

privilege, immunity, or situation in said college on account of his religious opinions, provided he demean himself in a sober, peaceable, and orderly manner and conform to the rules and regulations thereof."¹

With respect to the chartered Catholic institutions, several seemingly strange provisions are found. The charter of St. Philip's College at Detroit was made out to a single person, namely, "the Bishop of Detroit and his successors in said office of Bishop of Detroit duly appointed by the See at Rome."²

The charter granted to St. Mary's Academy (Catholic) at Bertrand declared that "said corporation shall not hold any real estate more than five years after they shall have become owners of the same, except such real estate as shall be necessary for the objects of the corporation." Again: "The amount of real and personal property which said corporation may hold shall not at any time exceed \$50,000." Still again: "No deed or devise of land made to said corporation by any person or persons during his or her last sickness shall be valid."³

One sees in these provisions an effort to prevent any educational or religious corporation from securing and holding enormous properties that should be exempt from state taxation.⁴ The restrictions did not apply to Catholic institutions alone. Provisions similar to the above are found in many other charters, especially in those granted to literary associations whose aim was not avowedly to serve the entire public.

The charter of the Woodstock Manual Labor Institute

¹ Section 4 of incorporating act of Michigan Central College in 1845. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 32, p. 499.)

² Section 1 of incorporating law. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 513.)

³ Sentences taken from section 1 of the incorporating act. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 538.)

⁴ St. Mary's Academy was later moved two or three miles southward across the line into Indiana, where apparently less restrictive laws prevailed. It is now one of the most notable and wealthy Catholic schools in the country, and has large real-estate holdings.

contains this statement of aim: it is "for instruction of persons of color, and others, in ancient and modern languages or literatures, and arts and sciences."¹ This is the only school I find that expressly includes in its aim the intention to give instruction to negroes. The institution, however, was short lived.

The incorporating act of the Oakland Female Seminary, 1849, declares that "no male teacher shall at any time hereafter forever be employed in the seminary hereby incorporated."² This school seems not to have had a long existence either.

Like their predecessors—the academies of the eighteenth century—these quasi-public institutions of the nineteenth century (when they succeeded at all) exerted a remarkable influence on the life of the communities in which they were located. They were, to a large degree, truly people's colleges. In them youths of scant financial means secured a fairly extensive and thorough literary training.³ They also received here what is of even more value—a grounding in the fundamental principles of the ethical, religious, and social sides of life. In these schools the youths mingled on an equal footing with their fellows. The training received in them made for social leadership and social betterment. In the truest sense, these schools were schools of social democracy.

Nevertheless, they were select schools. After all, only the few attended them, and these few were apt to be the sons and daughters of the more prosperous citizens, or were young men and young women who by temperament,

¹ Section 2, *Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 42, p. 530.

² Section 9, *Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 168, p. 532.

³ I am unable to find an account of the average expenses of a youth in one of these academies. President Fairfield of Hillsdale College reported in 1858 that the annual expenses there were as follows: tuition, \$20; room rent, \$6 to \$9 per year; incidental expenses \$2 to \$3 per year; board in College Hall, \$1.50 per week (with tea and coffee, \$1.75); board in private families (room, furniture, and fuel included), \$2 per week. This would have equaled between \$85 and \$95 per year. The expenses in the academies could not have been much different.

nature, and ambition belonged to the superior ranks. Hence, like the branches and the old-time Latin school, the academies had their enemies, who charged them with being exclusive, snobbish, and undemocratic institutions, and sought their overthrow.

This hostile attitude on the part of many, coupled with other circumstances, doubtless accounts in large measure for the shifting fortunes experienced by so many of these schools, and finally for their gradual disappearance. There are snobs in Michigan, but the people as a whole are intensely democratic, and hate any contrary pretense.

Discipline in these academical schools was not severe, but it was expected to be sufficiently rigid to check evil temptations and to inculcate a wholesome respect for law, for the social proprieties, and for individual tastes. The schools were usually sufficiently small to enable the students to come into immediate personal contact with the teachers,¹ and most of these, we must believe, were men and women of noble ideals and gentle manners. One of the most enjoyable and beneficial practices found in many schools was the weekly, or daily, hour devoted to "General Exercises," when questions of vital importance to morals, manners, faith, and knowledge were discussed by the principal before the entire assembled school. Not infrequently this hour was devoted to opening the "question box" and to discussing in a frank, sympathetic, and fluent way any pertinent questions that might have been asked by the students.² By many, the principal's views were regarded as spoken *ex cathedra*.

The school buildings were usually situated on the most

¹ For example, Clinton Institute in 1850 had 75 students and three teachers. (*Report*, 1851, p. 75.) Olivet had about 95 students, with five instructors, and Vermontville, in 1862, had 38 students with two instructors. (*Report*, 1853, p. 182.)

² Mention is made of this practice in an article by M. D. Osband in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. 18, p. 657.

sightly spot in the town, and were surrounded by spacious grounds covered over with the shade of a natural grove. Here is the beginning of attention to the æsthetic side of school training.

The program of studies not infrequently was drawn to include elementary instruction in the English language, and advanced subjects which might or might not include the classics. The emphasis, however, was always laid upon the post-elementary instruction. This was real secondary work, and was the true ideal the academy set for itself. All instruction that was offered as preparatory to this was given to accommodate older students whose early advantages had been limited. However, many schools offered no elementary, preparatory course.

As a rule the academy period proper extended over three years divided into three terms of thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen weeks each. The subject-matter was arranged in "departments." For example, the Wesleyan Seminary, in its report for 1851, stated that the "Departments in this institution consist of the following branches of study, viz.: (1) Moral and Intellectual Science; (2) Natural Science; (3) Ancient Language and Elocution; (4) Mathematics; (5) Modern Language; (6) Belles Lettres; (7) Primary English Literature, and (8) Fine Arts."¹

Tuition charges depended upon the work taken. For illustration, in 1850, Clinton Institute, Mt. Clemens, published the following announcement of fees for the quarter of eleven weeks:

For Elementary Branches.....	\$ 3.00
For Common English Branches.....	4.00
For Higher English Branches.....	5.00
For Latin, Greek, and French.....	6.00
For Music.....	8.00

¹ *Superintendent's Report, 1851, p. 67.*

Naturally the programs of study differed somewhat with different institutions. Still, since the ideals were nearly the same, the work offered was similar. The courses were regulated by the popular demands, which in turn varied with the traditions and ambitions of the institution itself and of the community it was designed to serve. One program must suffice as an illustration.

In 1856 Wesleyan Seminary offered the following:¹

FIRST TERM

Mental Arithmetic; Elocution; Rhetoric; Geometry, begun; Geography of the Heavens; Bookkeeping; Botany; Political Economy; Astronomy; Governmental Instructor.²

SECOND TERM

English Composition; Analysis of Words; Ancient Geography; Universal History; Geometry, completed; Trigonometry; Mental Philosophy; Elements of Criticism; Evidences of Christianity; Natural Theology.

THIRD TERM

Modern Geography; History of the United States; Surveying and Navigation; Mental Philosophy; Logic; Agricultural Chemistry; Animal Chemistry; Analogy of Religion; Geology; Mineralogy.

EVERY TERM

English Grammar; Analysis of Language; Written Arithmetic; Higher Arithmetic; Elementary Algebra; Higher Algebra; Anatomy and Physiology; Natural Philosophy; Chemistry; Drawing, Painting, Music; Greek, Latin, French, and German.

One readily observes from this program that the old, iron-clad, restrictive classical course has completely broken down and disappeared. The classics are offered

¹ President's report found in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1855-57, p. 411. At this date the seminary enrolled 235 students. Above the seminary, and influencing it, was the female college. This fact doubtless accounts for the variety and richness of program found here. Surely few of the smaller academies could parallel it.

² This last I take to mean to indicate a handbook in civics, the president apparently naming the textbook in lieu of describing the course offered.

for those who desire to pursue them, but they here take their place on a parity with the other subjects—neither above nor below them. Modern languages have also come into full recognition. In place of a few subjects of study pursued for a long time the policy is here reversed. Here is an extensive and rich menu, offered, however, in small quantities. The student perforce came out of the seminary knowing a little about many things and not much about any one. The age of specialization for every individual—even before he passed out of the field of secondary education—had not yet arrived.

Naturally, in this period of particularism, the textbooks in use varied greatly. Still, a few standard books are found in nearly every school. Among the familiar ones may be mentioned: Wayland's texts on *Moral and Mental Philosophy*; Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, and his *Natural Theology*; Butler's *Analogy*; Packer's *Natural Philosophy*; Davies' mathematical series; Newman's *Rhetoric*; Agassiz's *Zoölogy*; and Fasquelle's French text.

As an indication of the popularity of the various subjects, the following list of students' elections may be valuable. In the Young Ladies' Seminary at Monroe, the president reports, for the year 1850:¹ "The pupils have pursued the following studies: Latin, 12; French, 9; Instrumental Music, 17; Drawing, 34; Vocal Music, the entire school;² Algebra, 58; Geometry, 9; Chemistry, 15; Natural Philosophy, 25; Moral Science, 4; Physiology and Anatomy, 34; Arithmetic, 123; Astronomy, 20; Geology, 9; Grammar, 94."

From the foregoing list, as well as from other data we have considered in this chapter, it is clearly manifest

¹ *Report of Public Instruction*, 1850, p. 79.

² The school enrolled at this time, about 125.

that the "elective system" of studies, in fact if not in name, was in full operation in many if not all of the academical institutions of the state even before the middle of the last century. Students who expected to be graduated were, it is true, required to pursue a rather definite course of studies. Those, however, who had only a limited time at their disposal were frequently allowed to take up the subjects for which they were fitted, and for which they had an especial desire.

Very naturally, then, we shall find that these institutions set the standards and furnished the ideals and the models for the public high schools that were just then arising. An enriched curriculum, a flexible curriculum, a more or less "practical" curriculum, became the rule. If there was not always free choice for the pupil, there were at least two separate and distinct curricula open for his election—the Classical and the English. Sometimes a third, styled the Modern Language Course, was offered. All these were carried over into the high school.

The academies likewise bequeathed the example of coeducation, if not in all, at least in many of their institutions. This practice, too, became the natural and unconscious ideal of the evolving high schools. We shall trace the details later.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION SCHOOLS

THE third channel through which secondary education in Michigan was moving during the twenty years preceding 1860 was that of the union schools. In fact, it is from these that the present-day high schools take their immediate rise and their distinctive form. While the branches of the university and the private and denominational academies and seminaries contributed much of the spirit and not a little of the internal workings and methods of the high schools, the external shape, the administration, and the financial support of these have been evolved almost wholly from the operation of principles that underlay and produced the union schools. Indeed, in many towns and villages in Michigan to-day the local high school is still recognized and spoken of as the "Union School"—what was originally only a department of the school having assumed to itself the name and essence of the whole.¹

We have already seen that the period between 1840 and 1860 was one of hesitancy and halting in matters of secondary education in Michigan. Indeed, there was no definite settled state policy respecting the question until about the latter date. One party or faction had set up one ideal, and another, another. Each sought, by proselyting, to rally to its support sufficient strength to carry through its program.

Meantime the legislature assumed a more or less neutral attitude and waited to be guided by the survival

¹ I have frequently, in my visits through Michigan, heard the high school thus designated.

of the fittest. Of course, educational statutes were enacted, but few or none of them were drastic in their requirements or partial in their principles. The representatives of each school party received some recognition.

Nevertheless, the legislature on the whole assumed a *laissez faire* demeanor. It refused to appropriate additional money for the maintenance of the branches; it refused to subsidize the private schools and academies; and it refused to make provision for secondary education, directly, in any other way. But, meanwhile, the popular demand, silently expressed, was steadily making for free, secular, state-supported secondary schools. When this quiet growth had assumed proportions that were irresistible, the legislature and the courts came to its support with specific legal aids.

In an earlier chapter we have seen that the state constitution declared for a system of primary schools to be kept up in every district for a minimum period each year, and to be supported, in part at least, out of the public treasury. We have also called attention to the confusion that arose respecting the school lands and the Primary School Fund, and to the abuses that followed the rise of the spirit of excessive democratization that reached its height in the fourth decade of the past century. So far as this last factor bore on education, its most serious and evil effect was the establishment of the public-school system with the small, independent school district as the unit. So distrustful were the people of that generation of anything bordering on the centralization of power, and so opposed were the settlers of Michigan, in particular, to the perpetuation of the earlier French ideas, that any thought or plan of building a school system on the township basis was easily and successfully opposed. Hence Michigan was, and in part is yet,

bound to a system that has been very retarding, to say the least, in its effects.

The sparseness of population in Michigan up to 1840 made the district system less irritatingly felt than it might otherwise have been.¹ Still, especially in the larger towns, the plan was not working well. For example, at this time Detroit, with a population of ten thousand, was split into eight separate and distinct districts, each with its district school and its district school officers.² The condition was fast becoming intolerable. In 1842, therefore, the legislature came to the relief of the city by enacting a law consolidating the various districts of Detroit and providing for one school authority over all.³

This act marks the first effective step toward modifying the district-school plan. For the first time in the state an incorporated city or town was made the unit for the local administration of schools. Still, Detroit did not at once establish a union school with an academical department. In this respect she was beaten by several other towns. Detroit's academical department was not created until 1848.⁴

Meanwhile, throughout the state, demands were being made for similar legislation that would permit the establishment of union-school districts in the larger towns.

¹ The population of the state in 1840 was 212,267. In 1838 there were only two chartered cities—Detroit and Monroe—and twenty-three incorporated villages and towns. (Farmer's *History of Detroit*, pp. 740 ff.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 743.

³ This act, approved February 17, 1842, provided that henceforth "all schools organized therein (Detroit), in pursuance of this act, shall, under the direction and regulation of the Board of Education, be public and free to all children residing within the limits thereof, between the ages of five and seventeen inclusive." It provided for the election of twelve school inspectors (two from each ward) who, together with the mayor and the recorder, were to constitute the Board of Education for the entire city. The same law authorized the common council of Detroit to assess and levy each year for school purposes a tax upon all real and personal property in the city up to the amount of one dollar per child of school age. (*Joint Documents*, 1851, No. 70 p. 491.)

⁴ At first there were two grades—a primary and a middle—in each ward. Later there were six primary and three middle in the whole city. In 1848 there were thirteen primary and four middle schools. (Farmer's *History of Detroit*, p. 743.)

What was good for Detroit was likewise good, it was argued, for all villages and towns of any considerable size. Not only would a single district with a single school and a single set of officers be vastly more economical to the people of the community, but it would permit the carrying on of a school vastly more efficient. In a union district better salaries could be paid, better teachers secured, and enthusiasm of numbers could be generated. The union school would also permit the grading of pupils according to their attainments, and thus bring greater zest and emulation into the classroom, where all would be nearly equal.

Grading would also permit organizing the work on the departmental plan, and would thus enable teachers to devote their time to the particular subjects for which they were best prepared, and for which they had a natural aptitude.

These were the arguments laid before the legislature by the friends of the union schools.

In response to this appeal the legislature in 1843 enacted another law which gave to the local officers permissive authority to organize union schools anywhere. The important sections of that law read as follows:¹

"Whenever the board of inspectors of any township shall deem that the interests of any of the schools will be best promoted by so doing, they may form a single district out of any two or more districts therein and classify the pupils in such districts into two or more classes, according to their proficiency and advancement in learning, and require that such pupils be taught in distinct schools or departments as classified by them; and such district may have the same number of schoolhouses, if

¹ These are sections 92 and 93 of the compiled laws of 1846. See *Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 397.

necessary, and raise the same amount of taxes which the original districts forming the same could raise if not united."

The inspectors were also authorized "on the application of the district board of any district, to classify the pupils therein in the manner prescribed in the preceding section, and require that such pupils be taught in distinct departments, whenever they shall judge that the interest of the school will be best promoted thereby."¹

Amendments to this law in the next year or so authorized any district having more than a hundred pupils of school age² to enlarge its board of trustees to seven members, provided two-thirds of the voters at any annual meeting so decided. The district board was also given power to "graduate the price of tuition according to the studies pursued by the scholars respectively."³

From the above sections it is to be observed that, while graded schools are here provided, they are in no sense free public schools. A tuition or "rate" was authorized in every district⁴ to be collected from the residents of the district, as well as from the non-resident students attending that school. Nothing, however, is stated in the law respecting the scope of the work to be offered in these schools. That was left wholly to local settlement.

Under the original law some little advance apparently was made by the more progressive inspectors, but no really full-fledged graded school issued. Superintendent Comstock, through his reports of 1844 and 1845, gave his support to the movement and urged immediate action by the different towns. "The consolidation of districts in our cities and rising villages is highly desirable," said

¹ Section 93 of the same compiled laws.

² The school age was now from four to eighteen.

³ Amendment to Section 93. (See *Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 398.)

⁴ Detroit was exempt from this law. Her schools were free by the law of 1842.

he in his report of 1845.¹ "These graduated schools," he continued, "would obviate the necessity of select seminaries. Education obtained in these is always more expensive than it would be if imparted in the graduated school . . . The necessity of select schools is founded in the imperfect character of the primary schools. Elevate these, and the select schools will be superseded."

This quotation leaves no doubt as to which party Mr. Comstock favored in the three-cornered fight for control of the secondary schools of Michigan.

In a similar way, Superintendent Mayhew, in his report for 1848, urges upon boards the desirability of organizing their schools under the provisions of the revised law. "A considerable number of districts have already availed themselves of this provision," said he, "and several large and commodious Union School houses have been built in which schools are in successful operation. Other similar houses are now in process of erection and taxes have been voted in other cases with reference to building another season." "In that school [that is, the union school] are combined all the advantages of the well conducted common school, the academy for young gentlemen and the seminary for young ladies. Children may there commence with the alphabet and pass from one grade to another until, on leaving the school, they are prepared to enter any college or University in the United States." "Union schools should be established at the earliest practicable period, in every county of this state, and in all the principal villages, in which students may qualify themselves for the University. Union schools constitute the only reliable connecting link between the primary school and the State University."²

¹ *Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 457.

² Report of 1848, *Joint Documents*, 1851, p. 458.

Mr. Mayhew then adds a list of the advantages such schools possess. I content myself with merely giving his main headings without his detailed arguments. These are:

1. They are open to all and embrace a more extensive and complete course of study than otherwise would be practicable.
2. They may be made better than either the common or the select schools.
3. They are cheaper than any other schools.
4. They are democratic institutions.
5. They afford a good substitute for normal schools or teachers' seminaries.
6. They perform the office of a preparatory school for colleges.

Although Mr. Mayhew was ambitious to see these schools made preparatory schools for colleges and the universities, apparently, at the time he wrote, this view was shared by few. Rather, the union school was generally expected to take the place of the local academy and to give the youth of the neighborhood a good foundation in the elementary and secondary subjects that would fit them for their places in the active affairs of the community, and would train them in moral, religious, and social principles.

Probably the first village to organize a union school under the law of 1843 was Jonesville, in 1845, though the school was not opened and in operation until two or three years later. From this date the more important towns of the state, one by one, took the advanced step and converted their ungraded schools into union or graded schools.

There was, of course, at this time, no fixed or ideal standard to which the various schools sought to approximate themselves. Each community went its own way and established a school that seemed good in its own eyes and adapted to the local needs. Nevertheless, the differences of a homogeneous people are usually more superficial than real. There was, therefore, almost of

necessity, a close agreement among all these schools,—in aim, organization, administration, programs of study, equipment, textbooks, internal workings, methods, and results. Obviously, in a book of this kind, it is impossible and undesirable to deal, in a detailed way, with the characteristics of any one school. We shall have to content ourselves with deducing general principles and illustrating these with a few concrete facts.

Almost all these union schools were organized into two, three, four, or five different departments under different names. The program of studies ranged from the merest elements of knowledge up to, and including, subjects now found only in the colleges and universities. Hence the divisions or departments were given names suggestive of the grade of work included. The earlier schools usually had four departments, though sometimes five. The later more commonly classified the work into three divisions. All had a primary department, and many had an academical department. Between these two extremes were found the secondary, the intermediate, and the grammar departments, and other designated departments.¹

In some schools the academical department was made to include the grammar department and the high school. The full course in the perfectly organized schools was usually eleven or twelve years in length, three years being devoted to each of the four common departments: primary, intermediate, grammar, and higher departments. Later it was more usual to find the primary, grammar, and high departments, with four years devoted to each.

¹ The following illustrations will show the variety of usage: (a) Jonesville had primary, secondary, grammar, and higher departments; (b) Monroe had the same designations; (c) Niles had 1st primary, 2d primary, intermediate, grammar, and high; (d) Plymouth had 1st department, 2d department, and 3d department; (e) St. Clair had primary, secondary, intermediate, and higher; (f) Sturgis had primary, secondary, third department, and high school; (g) Ypsilanti had primary, secondary, grammar, and academical.

The year was divided into three or four terms and consisted usually of forty or more weeks.¹ The school day was ordinarily six hours in length, but there was no uniformity as to just what six hours.² At the outset there was usually but one school building in the town, and this accommodated all grades.³ As the town grew the main or union school building continued to be used for the upper departments, and ward buildings were erected for the primary departments. As the union school building became more and more overcrowded, one grade after another was forced out and was quartered in the ward buildings, until, in time, by this process of division, the union building was often given over entirely to the academical or high-school department.

Up to 1856, however, and perhaps later, there was in Michigan no true high school in the sense of an institution of secondary learning set apart from the middle or grade school and offering advanced education only.⁴ Indeed, the true high-school period did not begin in Michigan until the passage of the law of 1859.

Just as there was a division and a separation of grades in separate buildings, so there gradually developed a differentiation of functions among the teachers. Before the union-school era each district had its one teacher who was administrator, teacher, truant officer, clerk, and janitor—a veritable jack-of-all-trades. With the division of the school into grades there was usually one head master, or principal, with one or more teaching assistants. With the removal of the primary department from the main building there arose the office (though for a

¹ Of the twenty-seven schools reporting in 1859, fourteen had 40 weeks of school; one had 41; eight had 42; one had 43; and two had 44. One only had fewer than 40 weeks. This was Cassopolis, with 36. (See *Report of Public Instruction*, 1859, p. 234.)

² Report of Detroit School. (*Report*, 1850, p. 156.)

³ Exception must of course be made of the larger towns.

⁴ *Report*, 1855-57, p. 52.

time, to be sure, unrecognized by title) of superintendent. This function still fell to the lot of the head of the academical department, who at first was designated "Principal of the Schools."¹ This process was repeated when the grammar department was set off from the higher or academical department, and not infrequently one of the assistant teachers was designated as assistant to the principal, having charge of the grammar department.

As the evolution went on the term "principal" came to denote the head master or head mistress of any building or department. This practice then necessitated the employment of a new title to distinguish the highest administrative official of the whole system, and consequently there arose the designation "Superintendent of Schools."

Thus, here as elsewhere in modern life, a complexity of duties led to a division of labor, a continuous differentiation of function, and the creation of a hierarchy of authority.

To meet the needs of the new type of schools most towns and cities were forced to erect new school buildings, and these became the pride and boast of the community. Copied somewhat closely from the academies, these structures occupied the choicest available plot of ground in the town, and, where possible, stood upon a commanding hill in the midst of a natural grove. The first buildings were often only two stories in height; the later ones were, with few exceptions, three stories. Although land was cheap and there was an abundance of room to build out laterally, the architects of the day would have none of that style. Two or three flights of steep stairways seem to have been regarded as essential for any model union-school building, and not infrequently one or two

¹ Oftentimes, too, the academical department was spoken of as the principal's department.

other flights led still higher to the tower and the belfry. Another usually led down into a basement.¹ The record, "an ample and spacious building 60 ft. long by 40 ft. wide, and three stories in height," is a familiar one in the reports of these schools.

Salaries, as one might expect, were low,—shamefully and criminally low. If the total expense of conducting the entire school for a year averaged much over two hundred and fifty or three hundred dollars for the teachers employed, the school board was thought needlessly extravagant. Here are a few illustrations taken from the reports of 1859:

TOWN	NO. OF TEACHERS	PAY
Almont	2	\$ 9 and \$ 4 per week, respectively
Ann Arbor	3	\$ 750 per year, collectively
Battle Creek	10	3,370 per year, collectively
Bay City	2	750 per year, collectively
Cassopolis	3	740 per year, collectively
Charlotte	3	960 per year, collectively
Coldwater	8	2,316 per year, collectively
Eaton Rapids	3	694 per year, collectively
Flint	6	2,105 per year, collectively
Niles	9	3,500 per year, collectively
Ypsilanti	17	5,470 per year, collectively

When one recalls that the principal's salary was considerably larger than that of his assistants, one can well guess how slimly these latter fared. Indeed, a salary of one hundred seventy-five to two hundred dollars for a primary teacher, and two hundred to three hundred

¹ There are several of these old union-school buildings still standing throughout the state, and the material conditions in some are as bad as the above statement would indicate. The author recalls a visit to one such school two or three years ago in which the high-school students occupied the third floor, seventy-two steps above the ground. Besides being forced to ascend and descend these stairs four times a day at least, many students in addition went up into the tower twice each day, and down into the basement once each day to attend classes held there. If any went outside the building at recess there were four additional trips up and down the seventy-two steps. In addition to the danger to physical health in general, the building was a veritable firetrap. Fortunately, the present generation is rapidly abandoning this type of building.

for an intermediate teacher, was the ruling scale.¹

The programs of studies in these schools, as we have already hinted, varied greatly with the pride and ambition of the community and the funds at the disposal of the board. There was no close articulation between the different departments in any school. Admission to the academic or high-school department from the grammar-school department was in these earlier schools upon examination, and examination only.² This included, usually, arithmetic, grammar, geography, reading, penmanship, composition, and declamation.³ Sometimes also, as at Adrian, algebra, physiology, book-keeping or drawing, and United States history were required.

The program of studies in the academical or high-school department was usually, from the first, divided into two courses — the English and the Classical. Every school offered the English course, and the larger and more ambitious schools had both. One or two illustrative programs must suffice for our purpose.

In 1858 the English course in the Ann Arbor High School was as follows:

First Half Year: Elementary Algebra; Elementary Composition; Physiology.

Second Half Year: Davies' University Arithmetic; English Grammar; Physical Geography.

Third Half Year: Geometry; Rhetoric; History.

Fourth Half Year: Geometry (finished); Natural History; English Literature; Elements of Criticism; History.

Fifth Half Year: Olmstead's Natural Philosophy; Mental Philosophy; Chemistry; Geology.

Sixth Half Year: Natural Philosophy (finished); Botany; Reviews.

¹In 1858 Flint paid her teachers as follows: Principal, \$800; first assistant, \$260; second assistant, \$220; teachers of intermediate department, \$240; two teachers of primary department, \$200 each. (*Reports*, 1858, p. 458.) This same year the salaries in the Detroit schools ranged from \$200 to \$900. (*Ibid.*, p. 451.) In Grand Rapids salaries were from \$220 to \$1,000. (*Ibid.*, p. 463.)

²At least, I have found no records to the contrary.

³Report of Ann Arbor, for example, in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1858.

In addition to the above there was offered, as optional subjects, a two years' course in French and in German.¹

The Classical Course for the same school for this year was:

In Latin: Harkness' First Latin Book; Latin Reader; Caesar; Cicero's Select Orations; Arnold's Latin Prose Composition; and Vergil.

In Greek: Kuehner's Greek Grammar and Exercises; Greek Reader or *Anabasis*; Arnold's Greek Prose Composition; Review.²

A few years earlier than this Battle Creek offered the following program:³

FIRST YEAR

First Term: Arithmetic; English Grammar; Physical Geography; Latin; French.

Second Term: Algebra; English Language; Physical Geography; Latin; French.

Third Term: Algebra; Rhetoric and English Literature; Book-keeping; Latin; French. Reading and Spelling throughout the the year.

SECOND YEAR

First Term: Geometry; Rhetoric and English Literature; Chemistry; Latin; French; Greek; German.

Second Term: Geometry and Trigonometry; Chemistry; Natural Philosophy; Latin; French; Greek; German.

Third Term: Trigonometry and Surveying; Physiology; Botany; Latin; French; Greek; German.

THIRD YEAR

First Term: Botany; History; Zoölogy; Latin; French; Greek; German.

Second Term: History; Astronomy; Mental Philosophy; Latin; French; Greek; German; Drawing.

Third Term: Political Economy; Moral Philosophy; Geology; Latin; French; Greek; German; Drawing. Declamations, Compositions, etc., throughout the year.

¹At the time of the report thirty-four were pursuing the study of French, and twelve of German. (*Report*, 1858, p. 440.)

²At this time fifty-five were studying Latin and eighteen Greek.

³*Report*, 1852, p. 587.

The above programs suggest the scope and variety of work offered in the average school of the stronger types. Apparently a pupil was expected at the outset of his high-school career to select either the English or the Classical Course and to continue in it without break to the end. The only real flexibility was found in the options allowed in the modern languages.¹

In some schools, however, a decided tendency is observed to incorporate in the high-school program of studies subjects that are now usually confined to the grammar school. In still others, advanced subjects that approach the courses of the university were found. Grand Rapids, for example, in 1858 offered this course in its higher department: Spelling, reading, penmanship, geography, grammar, mental arithmetic, written arithmetic, history, algebra, geometry, book-keeping, science of government, rhetoric, physiology, natural philosophy, astronomy, French, Latin, composition, and declamation.²

At this same time Ypsilanti offered this rich program in its academical department: Elocutionary reading, university arithmetic, algebra and Bourdon,³ geometry and trigonometry, grammar, English analysis, ancient and modern history, natural philosophy, logic, rhetoric, elements of criticism, evidences of Christianity, original and selected declamations and compositions, Latin, Greek, French, German, and music. The last five were optional.

¹Until 1859 no classical studies were taught in any of the Detroit schools, although the president reported in 1858 that their program of studies covered "the whole range of elementary instruction from ABC up to Trigonometry." (*Report*, 1858, p. 451.)

²*Report*, 1858, p. 465.

³Louis Pierre Marie Bourdon (1799-1854), a French mathematician, was the author of several published mathematical works, among them: *Eléments d'Algèbre* (1815); *Eléments d'Arithmétique* (1821); *Application de l'Algèbre à la Géométrie* (1824); *Trigonométrie rectiligne et sphérique* (1854). Bourdon's works were adapted by Professor Davies, of West Point, and were extensively used in the United States. School authorities in arranging their courses of study often misused the word *Bourdon*, so that now it is difficult to decide whether his algebra, his geometry, or his transitional book, *Applications of Algebra to Geometry*, meant. The context seems to imply that the last-mentioned book is intend

Jonesville also shows a liberal spirit in this sentence: "No regular course of study," says the report, "has been prescribed. We have classes in Greek, Latin, French, German languages, Philosophy, Chemistry, Algebra, Geometry, Physiology, Astronomy, Botany, and in all the Common English Branches."¹

All these programs show clearly the influence of the academy movement on the subjects of study. Prescribed courses were everywhere going out, and a principle of a more or less free choice was coming in. We must from now on expect to see the pendulum swinging more and more away from the traditional standards and toward a more modern ideal. We shall first find blazed in the forest of subjects numerous straight and narrow paths. Upon some one of these each and every pupil must enter, and, having once started, must persevere to the end or give up all attempt to go through. Again, later, we shall find that this ideal did not prove acceptable, and a more liberal principle was adopted. The pupil was now permitted to cross over from one course to another, provided he did so at certain specifically prescribed points. Still once more, we shall see, satisfactory conditions were not secured, and a modified form of older standards was set up. Thus society and the schools make progress by cutting and trying, and ceaselessly making over past experiences.

In these early union schools there was little or no apparatus to serve as pedagogical aids, nor any school libraries of any considerable size or significance.² The

¹ *Report*, 1858, p. 467.

² Jonesville seems to have had the best supply of apparatus. It consisted of "Chemical Apparatus and full sets of large Geographical, Astronomical, and Physiological Maps, the whole costing \$200." (*Report*, 1858, p. 467.)

Grand Rapids at the same time reported the following equipment: One terrestrial globe at \$12; one celestial globe at \$12; one tellurion at \$8; one telescope at \$20; one microscope at \$4.50; one horseshoe magnet at \$4; one set of mechanical powers at \$12; one set of cubical blocks at \$1.50. Four sets outline maps, at \$8 to \$32; one air pump at \$16. This gives a total supply of thirteen pieces with a total value of \$122. (*Report*, 1858, p. 463.) Most of the other schools reported no apparatus and no libraries.

majority of teachers were women, though as a rule the principal was a man, and usually a college or academy graduate. Coeducation existed in every school, and to the minds of the majority of principals was highly desirable and to be recommended for continuance. A few schools — the older, larger, or better ones — declared that their academical departments had prepared youths for college or university, but for the most part the reports avow no such honor and distinction. In almost every town which reported in 1858 a part, at least, of the expense of the school was still being raised by a rate bill.¹ However, public sentiment was fast rising against the practice, and in many towns the amounts thus collected were only nominal. People began to feel with Superintendent Gregory that "it were a cruel mockery for the state to proclaim a free university to its youth and at the same time to remind them they can reach it only by a heavy preliminary expense."²

As in the academies, there was no uniformity in text-books used in these early union schools. The law of the state had, from the beginning, required the Superintendent of Public Instruction to recommend books for use in the various schools, but their adoption was not made mandatory. Still, a few books had wide use. Among these may be mentioned McGuffey's Readers, Davies' mathematical texts, Willard's histories, Parker's *Aids to English Composition*, and his *Natural Philosophy*; and Dr. Watts' *Improvement of the Mind*.

This, then, was the mode of development of the union schools of Michigan, and these were their general characteristics and conditions in the sixth decade of the past century. Directly out of these schools, as we have already

¹ Detroit, Ann Arbor, Fenton, and one or two other towns declared that the English course in their schools was free to students of their own districts.

² Superintendent Gregory in his *Report* for 1859, p. 332.

stated, grew the present-day high schools of the state. The rise and development of those institutions will be left to the succeeding chapter. Not until the law of February 14, 1859, can the true high-school period in Michigan be said to have begun. Up to that date no separation of the school statistics was made by the state authorities, so that it is difficult to present accurately the detailed facts of their immediate progenitors.

In 1859 there were, however, fifty-eight graded or union districts in the state. Many of these, of course, had no academical or higher department whatever; others had only the beginnings of one.

In response to circulars sent out by the Educational Department of Michigan in 1859, twenty-seven cities and towns reported on the status of their union schools. At the end of this chapter will be found a list of these schools, together with the most interesting data gleaned from the replies to the circular mentioned. All but eight of the twenty-seven schools reported absolutely free tuition for 1860, though the law abolishing the rate bill did not pass until July 3, 1869.¹

Meanwhile, in 1850, the constitution of the state was revised, but no changes essential to our study were made therein, save that the legislature was ordered, within five years, to provide for establishing a system of primary schools in which instruction, without any charge for tuition, was to be given at least three months in every year in every district in the state, and all instruction was to be in the English language.² We shall later see the trouble this last sentence caused.

Union schools, of course, continued to exist after 1859,

¹ It may be interesting to note that in this same year the University of Michigan reported having fifteen professors, three assistant professors, three instructors, one assistant, and 430 students. (Regents' report, 1859, in *School Reports* for that year, Document No. 5, p. 74.)

² Section 4 of Article XIII of the Constitution of Michigan, as drawn in 1850.

and are to-day important institutions in Michigan. For the purposes of this book, however, we have traced their history as far as we need. We shall now turn to the high school, considered in its own right.

TABLE OF UNION SCHOOLS REPORTING IN 1859¹

TOWN	NO. ATTEND- ING	NO. TEACHERS	WEEKS OF SCHOOL	DATE OF ORGANIZA- TION
Adrian.....	1178	15	40	1849
Almont.....	200	3	42	1859
Ann Arbor City.....	1325	18	40	1856
Ann Arbor, Lower Town....	200	3	42	1854
Bay City.....	154	2	40	1854
Battle Creek.....	750	10	42	1847
Cassopolis.....	170	3	36	1857
Charlotte.....	183	3	42	1859
Clinton.....	208	4	40	1859
Coldwater.....	619	9	42	1853
Dexter.....	300	5	44	1856
Dowagiac.....	245	4	42	1857
Eaton Rapids.....	220	3	40	1853
East Saginaw.....	367	5	42	1853
Fentonville.....	229	3	40	1853
Flint.....	340	6	40	1846
Jonesville.....	351	5	40	1847
Kalamazoo.....	941	16	40	1859
Lansing, Lower Town.....	328	3	40	1852
Lansing, Middle Town.....	320	4	40	1857
Monroe.....	490	8	41	1859
Niles.....	450	9	40	1856
Plymouth.....	220	3	42	1853
St. Clair.....	540	6	40	1853
Sturgis.....	237	4	44	1855
Tecumseh.....	500	9	40	1852
Ypsilanti.....	1200	17	43	1849

¹ *Report*, 1859, p. 234. There were of course many other flourishing union schools with academical departments besides these that reported. Detroit, for example, had four union schools at this time, with at least one that gave instruction of an academical grade.

CHAPTER IX

THE HIGH-SCHOOL ERA

THE true high-school era in Michigan began February 14, 1859.¹ On this date the governor approved a legislative act which authorized graded-school districts to establish academical or high-school departments in their union schools. This date is therefore a turning point in the history of secondary education in the state.

Academic departments, it is true, had developed in many union schools long before this time, but they had no certain and specific legal status. They were merely the natural product of the conditions of the age. Under the new law the way was opened for the establishment and expansion of these secondary schools under more favorable and permanent conditions.

From this date the zeal and enthusiasm for public high schools—particularly in the cities and larger villages—was amazing. Communities vied with each other in taxing themselves for building sites and buildings, and in providing a course of instruction that should be complete from bottom to top. The high school speedily

¹ The important sections of this law read: "Any district containing more than 200 children between the ages of four and eighteen years may elect a District Board consisting of six Trustees: *Provided*, the District shall so determine at an annual meeting." (Sec. 147, Laws of 1859, p. 218.) Section 149 reads: "Said Trustees shall have power to classify and grade the scholars in such District and to cause them to be taught in such schools or departments as they may deem expedient; to establish in said District a High School when ordered by a vote of the district, at any annual meeting, and to determine the qualifications of admission to such school and the prices to be paid for tuition or any branches taught therein, etc." (Laws of 1859, p. 219.) Section 150 gives the district the right to "vote at each annual meeting such sums to be raised by tax upon the taxable property of the District as may be required to maintain the several schools thereof for the year." Section 151 says: "Any two or more contiguous districts may unite to form a single district for the purpose of establishing Graded or High Schools under the provisions of this act whenever the said districts shall severally by a two-thirds vote of the legal voters attending the annual meeting agree thereto."

took the place, in the popular mind, of the old academies, and this type of institution, as we have seen, was in large measure abandoned to its fate.

There were, of course, for a number of years after this, whole communities, and a greater or smaller constituency of individuals in nearly every community, that did not share the optimism or the satisfaction of the majority. To these the high school was a needless burden upon the taxpayers; an attempt to strain after the impracticable and useless; an aristocratic institution, designed and established for the aristocracy, approved by the aristocracy, and made up of the aristocracy. Among these was repeated the perennial falsehood: "What was good enough for father and mother is good enough for the children." Indeed, Superintendent Gregory in his report for 1859 already recognized the dangers that beset the new type of school when he declared: "There is no branch of our educational system that awakens so much hope and occasions so much solicitude as the so-called union schools."¹

However, as already stated, the establishment and expansion of the public high school went on apace. In 1859 there were in Michigan 3,968 school districts. Of these only fifty were organized into graded districts; and of these fifty not all included true academic departments.² Within twenty years, however, these figures had been enormously augmented. Naturally the events connected with the Civil War temporarily checked the advance of all schools—the high school included—but Michigan rapidly recovered from the depression incident to that struggle, and the passion for education surged

¹ *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1859, p. 25. While the sentence includes a consideration of the lower grades as well as the high school, it is obvious that the thought has reference primarily to the higher or academical departments of the union school.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

onward again. The following table shows the growth of high schools, by years, down to 1877.¹

DATE	NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED	DATE	NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED
1858	21 ²	1868	12
1859	6	1869	10
1860	4	1870	6
1861	4	1871	8
1862	2	1872	4
1863	5	1873	6
1864	3	1874	3
1865	4	1875	0
1866	11	1876	0
1867	15	1877	0
		Total	124

Thus the period from 1866 to 1873 was the time of most phenomenal advancement in the establishment of high schools in Michigan. By the end of that time practically every city in the state contained an institution of this kind. From the cities the movement spread into the larger towns and thence to the smaller villages. As the definition of a high school became more and more inclusive, communities that at the beginning of this era felt themselves unable or indisposed to meet the standard, began to aspire to schools of this rank. Hence, even though the cities were already provided, the high-school movement continued to develop. Many of the smaller schools, it is true, make no attempt to provide a full college-preparatory program of studies, or even to offer a full four years' high-school course. Many of them provide only three years of study beyond the eighth

¹ Data taken from *Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction, 1873 to 1877, Tables of Statistics*. After 1877 no record seems to have been kept of these data, though of course many other high schools have been established since then.

² These figures include all high schools established previous to 1859 in connection with the union schools.

grade; others offer only two years, and still others but one year. Nevertheless, each little community insists that honor shall be given where honor is due, and therefore cherishes the name "high school" whenever the facts offer the least opportunity to employ the term with a modicum of truthfulness.¹

In 1874 the agitation and alarm caused by the enemies of the public high schools reached their climax, but were soon effectively and permanently checked by two judicial decisions, handed down this same year. These were the judgments rendered in the now famous Kalamazoo High School case, and, so far as the State of Michigan was concerned, they forever settled the legal status of public schools of secondary grade.

For some years the claim had been made by the opponents of the high schools that nothing but primary instruction could legally be given in any of the common schools of the state. The contention was based upon alleged constitutional provisions, upon legislative enactments, and upon public policy. At an early date, it was argued, the legislature had established the Primary School Interest Fund, and had inviolably dedicated it to the use of the common schools. Indeed, the constitution had itself incorporated the idea into fundamental law.² The common schools did not include high schools. Secondary education was a recognized part of superior education, and for this the University Fund and other special funds had been set apart.³ In fact, until 1846 or later the

¹ The *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1914, gives a list of 105 incorporated cities and 279 incorporated villages possessing high schools. (*Report*, 1914, pp. 180 ff.)

² Constitution of 1850, Article XIII, Section 2.

³ Section 18 of Act of 1851 reads: "As soon as the income of the University interest fund will admit, it shall be the duty of the Board of Regents to organize and establish branches of the University, one at least in each judicial circuit or district of the state, and to establish all needful rules and regulations for the government of the same. They shall not give to any such branch the right of conferring degrees, nor appropriate a sum exceeding \$1,500 in any one year for the support of any such branch."

support of many of the secondary schools had always come, in part, from the University Fund, and the administration of these schools had been looked upon as a function of the regents. To attempt, therefore, to appropriate moneys from the Common School Fund to the use of the high school was a diversion of resources and hence was unconstitutional.

Moreover, it was urged, any public primary school giving instruction in a foreign language was infringing upon the provisions of Section 4 of Article XIII of the State Constitution,¹ and therefore that the law of February 14, 1859, was null and void, since it authorized schools contrary to the fundamental law. In the sentence, "all instruction shall be conducted in the English language," the opponents of the high school felt they had a just warrant for banishing from the schools Greek and Latin, French and German. But a professed secondary school without those languages would, at that time, have been regarded as no high school at all. Hence, it was hoped, by driving out the study of foreign languages the high school itself would be driven out.

There were other contentions made that need not here be considered.²

In order to secure a definite judicial decision upon the points of law in dispute, a friendly suit was instituted before the ninth Judicial Circuit Court of Michigan. The case was called in the name of Charles E. Stuart *et al. versus* School District No. 1 of Kalamazoo *et al.*, and

¹ This section reads: "The legislature shall within five years from the adoption of this constitution, provide for and establish a system of primary schools, whereby a school shall be kept without charge for tuition at least three months in each year in every school district in the state, and all instruction in said school shall be conducted in the English language."

² For example, it was also denied that moneys could legally be raised by taxation to pay the salary of a school superintendent. This contention was based on that section of the law that imposed upon boards of education the right and duty to grade the school, appoint teachers, select textbooks, determine the course of study, the qualifications for admission, the rate of tuition, and similar powers.

in it the plaintiffs prayed the court to issue orders restraining the school officials from imposing and collecting taxes for the support of the local high school or for the payment of the salary of the school superintendent. The case was tried before Judge Charles R. Brown, who at its conclusion rendered a judgment adverse to the petitioners.¹

In arriving at his opinion Judge Brown entered at some length into the history of the public schools of Michigan, called attention to the sections of law that bore upon the case and the obvious intent of the framers of those laws, and summed up his judgment by dismissing the suit. Respecting the constitutional provision, Mr. Brown held that the clause requiring the legislature to establish a system of primary schools did not in any way limit the power of the legislature to that duty, but left it free likewise to provide other schools at its pleasure. Moreover, the constitutional clause requiring all schools to be conducted in the English language, he held, signified only that the general instruction given should not be communicated in a foreign language, but that it did not preclude teaching foreign languages in the schools if the officials so voted.²

On appeal, the case was at once carried before the Supreme Court of Michigan, by which a decision was rendered in July of that same year, sustaining the lower court in every essential particular.³ The judgment of the court was written by Hon. Thomas Cooley, one of Michigan's eminent jurists, and the opinion carried authority far beyond the borders of the commonwealth. The opinion was not only a masterpiece of legal analysis

¹ The decision was rendered February 9, 1874.

² A full report of this judgment may be found in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction for Michigan*, 1873, pp. 399 ff.

³ For full report, see *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1874, pp. 409 ff.

and of interpretation, but it was also a model of English diction and rhetoric, and contained withal a most lucid and terse sketch of the development of the school system in the territory and state. Mr. Cooley therefrom concluded that the "general state policy" had, from 1817 down, "been uninterruptedly and uniformly in the direction of free schools in which education, and, at their option, the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state."

The effect of the decision was greatly to strengthen the high schools that had already been established and to encourage other and smaller communities to plan similar institutions.

Not only, however, were high schools as institutions enormously increasing in numbers during the era under consideration, but the number of pupils availing themselves of the opportunities afforded by these schools was also vastly increased. Each year saw larger and larger enrollments in nearly every school. Buildings which had been erected but a few years before were found inadequate to accommodate the throngs. Rooms that were designed for grade pupils were one by one appropriated to the use of the high school, and other quarters were provided for the members thus dispossessed. Indeed, how to anticipate the growing needs for high-school facilities and to provide for them became an almost annual problem for boards of education and superintendents from one end of the state to the other.

Doubtless several causes contributed to produce these conditions. Among these was the rapid development of cities and towns in the state, and the continuous trend of the rural population toward these centers of industry. The rise of manufacturing institutions and the development of the railroads — and more recently of electric

roads—also helped to knit the people together and to stimulate a desire for enlarged educational advantages. Likewise, too, the increased personal wealth of thrifty families and the accompanying social and cultural aspirations they had for their children bore directly upon the situation. But above and beyond all of these causal factors was another that has worked with a mightily potent influence throughout its history. This power was the University of Michigan.

We have seen in our earlier chapters that education in Michigan developed pretty largely from the top downward. That is to say, from early territorial days higher education received the first attention, both in theory and in practice. The hold that the university acquired upon the popular mind, even in the days of the Catholepistemiad, was phenomenal, and it has never been relaxed even down to the present. During the period in which the union schools and the high schools were in their formative stages, the university exerted an exceptionally strong and beneficent influence upon them. One can trace this influence through their aims, spirit, and ideals; through their organization and administration; their programs of study; their standards of scholarship; the flexibility of their curricula; the articulation with the college and with the lower schools, and even, in slight measure, through the methods of instruction. We shall touch upon each of these aspects in the proper places. Suffice it to say here that, as a general rule, notable changes and reforms have first found their application in the university and have then been carried into the field of secondary education.

Nevertheless, in one very notable respect at least, the reverse of this rule has been true. This is with reference to coeducation of the sexes. From the earliest day

in Michigan the primary school, the union school, the academies, and even the branches of the university looked upon coeducation as eminently proper and feasible. Not every academy, to be sure, or every branch of the university, admitted girls or women to its courses. This fact, however, was based more upon the idea of expediency and personal predilection than upon any common theory or established principle.

Nevertheless, despite these current practices, coeducation in colleges and universities—and for that matter the separate higher education of women in separate colleges—was in general, and until a very recent date, denounced in theory and unheard of in practice, not only in Michigan but in almost every other part of the world. Women were regarded as being unfit both physically and mentally for higher things in the way of intellectual culture. And as for coeducation, social and moral reasons were adduced to combat the idea. A “finishing school,” at the most, was considered commensurate with woman’s native ability and in keeping with the highest social ends. Like all false notions, however, these, too, were bound in time to be refuted and disproved. Coeducation first pried open the doors of the primary school, then of the academies, then of the grammar school, then of the high school, then of the normal school, and finally also those of the college and the university. The full but tardy acceptance of this principle by institutions of higher learning naturally had a reciprocal and correlative influence upon the lower schools. Particularly have the high schools been greatly affected by it.

No clearly audible demands for the admission of women to the University of Michigan seem to have been made until after the ratification of the revised state constitution in 1851. Certain clauses in that instrument, and

subsequent legislation based upon them, seemed to give the friends of coeducation a leverage. The law provided that the university should be open without charge to "all persons" in the state.¹ Did the words "all persons" include women? Obviously, in common parlance, they did, but whether or not technically they comprehended women was a question of earnest dispute. At any rate, there soon arose a not insignificant party which continued to clamor for equal privileges for both sexes at the university. Memorials and petitions were addressed to the president, the faculties, the regents, and even to the legislature and the courts, urging the claims of women. Even local communities took up the discussion, and sentiment was formed from one end of the state to the other. The more the idea was opposed the stronger it grew. In 1855 the Michigan State Teachers' Association, by resolution, went on record in favor of opening the university to all alike.² About the same time a monster petition was sent to the regents praying them to grant this avowed right to the daughters of the state. This body referred the matter to a committee, which in turn sought the advice of numerous influential educators throughout the United States.³ Conflicting and varying opinions were received, but the committee finally reported that "at present it is inexpedient to introduce the plan into the university."⁴ This was in 1858.

Nevertheless, the agitation did not cease. The courts

¹ Section 13 of Act 151, approved April 8, 1851, says: "The University shall be open to all persons resident of this state without charge of tuition, under the regulations prescribed by the Regents, and to all other persons under such regulations and restrictions as the board may prescribe."

² *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1859*, pp. 110 ff. The resolution reads thus: "That it is the opinion of this Association that coeducation of the sexes is in accordance with true philosophy and is practically expedient." The resolution grew out of a report made by Professor Putnam, and of discussions to which the report and other papers led.

³ Among the persons consulted were Presidents Hopkins of Williams College, Walker of Harvard, Woolsey of Yale, and several others.

⁴ *Regents' Report, 1858*.

were besought for a mandamus requiring the regents to put into effect the statutory provisions. The legislature was solicited to erect, separately, another state institution exclusively devoted to the higher education of women in college and university branches. A private school was founded at Lansing which seems to have had the ambition and hope that it would shortly receive the financial support of the state and would ultimately be transformed into a state university for women.¹ The Superintendent of Public Instruction, in his annual reports, touched at length upon the matter and gave it as his deliberate opinion that the regents were acting contrary to their legal and moral obligations.

Still, for several years no practical progress was made save in intensifying and crystallizing public sentiment. Until 1870 the regents were obdurate.² In that year they receded from their former position and voted to admit to the university both sexes on an equal footing.³ In February of that year the first woman student was matriculated. The following school year, 1870-71, there were thirty-four women enrolled—fourteen being in the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts; eighteen in the Department of Medicine, and two in the Department of Law.⁴ From that day to this the enrollment has never slackened. In 1908-1909 there

¹ This was the Michigan Female College. Miss A. C. Rogers, the principal of this school, reported in 1853 that one building was complete and she hoped contributions would soon be made to carry out the ideals of the founders. The program of studies included a full four years' course in classics and science. (*Report*, 1853, pp. 418 ff.)

² The legislature in 1867 adopted this resolution: "Resolved that it is the deliberate opinion of this Legislature that the high objects for which the University of Michigan was organized will never be fully attained until women are admitted to all its rights and privileges." (*President's Report*, 1868, p. 191.) The president of the university, Mr. E. O. Haven, also advised the experiment, but the State Superintendent was unfavorable to the plan.

³ *Regents' Report*, 1870. The exact date was January 5, 1870.

⁴ The first woman to matriculate was Miss Madalon Louisa Stockwell of Kalamazoo, who enrolled in the Literary Department, February 2, 1870. (*Regents' Report*, 1870.)

were enrolled in all departments 886 women students.¹ To-day the number is in excess of twelve hundred.

Obviously this decision of the regents was bound to have a notable reaction upon the high schools. Especially was this the case in the larger cities and towns, because the decision came as it did at the end of years of public clamor and agitation. While the high schools in Michigan never were, and are not now, primarily established to serve as college-preparatory schools, pure and simple, they have from the very outset had this ideal as one of their aims, and have consistently carried out these ideals in practice. From the earliest times, too, the high schools have, in general, enrolled a larger proportion of girls than of boys. Since, however, until 1870 no opportunity was afforded girls to secure a college or university education at state expense, a relatively small number completed the high-school course or aspired to further education. During this period the State Normal School alone invited girls to post-high-school study.²

After 1870 all this was changed. Not only, as has been said, did many young ladies now remain for graduation from the local high school and then enter the university, but the newly acquired college privileges stimulated high-school life and high-school attendance in general. One cannot doubt that the new dignity accorded to the high school in making it a college-preparatory school for girls as well as for boys attracted to its doors hundreds of youths who otherwise would never have entered them. Not that all who thus came remained to graduate, or

¹ College year 1908-9. Of the total number, 735 were enrolled in the Literary Department; one in Engineering; twenty in Medicine; two in Law; four in Pharmacy; six in Homeopathy; eight in Dentistry; and 110 (omitting duplicates) in the summer school. (President Angell's report for 1908-1909.)

² There were, of course, private or denominational colleges admitting girls before 1870. The statement above has reference solely to public education.

that all who graduated went on to college, or that all who went on to college entered the University of Michigan. The point is that the privilege granted by the university fired the imaginations and the ambitions of more youths, stimulated an interest in the high schools, and thus vastly augmented the movement that was already so well under way — the movement fostering and developing public secondary education, open and available for all.

Two other innovations made by the university had particularly potent influences upon the high school of the state. These were the expansion of the subject-matter within the university program of studies; and, secondly, the closer articulation of the university with the high schools through affiliation and the granting of certificating privileges. We shall consider these two aspects in turn.

In harmony with practically all other colleges of liberal culture in the world, the University of Michigan at first had in its curriculum only one narrowly prescribed course of study for every student. This was the old, traditional classical course, slightly modified, requiring not only a knowledge of mathematics, Latin, and Greek for admission, but also occupying most of the student's time in college with these three branches of study.¹ Toward the middle of the century, however, the scientific movement had attained such proportions that it could no longer be kept in the inferior position hitherto assigned it by the colleges.² Now concessions had to be made. Science demanded a place in the college curriculum independent of that

¹ It is found by actual computation that slightly more than fifty per cent of the time was devoted to these three subjects.

² It will be recalled that the theoretical scientific movement was as old as Bacon and Comenius, but most of the colleges and universities had until much later succeeded in keeping the subject out of their programs. Then isolated subjects were put in the curriculum and prescribed for all students. Until about 1850, though, science was, generally speaking, a questionable field of study. This was true of the University of Michigan as it was of other colleges at the time.

awarded the humanities and on an equal footing with them. In 1853 the University of Michigan yielded to this demand by instituting, parallel with the Classical Course, a Scientific Course.¹ For admission to this course no pre-collegiate training in the ancient languages was required, but once the student was enrolled he was required to pursue the study of Latin, though not of Greek, the same as the classical students.

The principle of strict uniformity once having been yielded it is obvious that the divisions of the program could not stop with two parallel courses. Such an arrangement was mere mockery of individual tastes and capacities. Further advance was absolutely imperative. In consequence, new changes were made, one after another, and always in the direction of a greater freedom for individual choice. Election of studies within the courses was allowed to seniors as early as 1855 and 1856. This same year, too (1855), a third course, that of civil engineering, was instituted parallel with the other two, and in 1864 there was added a course in mining engineering. In 1867 there were recognized and offered by the Faculty six parallel courses, all leading to a degree. These were styled (1) the Classical, (2) the First Scientific, (3) the Second Scientific, (4) the Latin and Scientific, (5) the Civil Engineering, and (6) the Mining and Engineering courses.²

Having once elected one of these six courses the student was at first required to pursue, without variation, the

¹ President Tappan, in his inaugural address in 1852, first proposed the plan, and the following year it was carried into effect. One year earlier, however (in 1851), the legislature, by an act, opened the doors of the university to special students—that is, to students not conforming strictly to the prescribed course or passing all the prescribed entrance examinations. (Hinsdale's *History of the University of Michigan*, pp. 43 and 44.)

² Report of President E. O. Haven for 1867, in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1867, pp. 171 ff. In the *Report* of 1870 these courses are styled: (1) the Classical, (2) the Scientific, (3) the Latin-Scientific, (4) the Greek-Scientific, (5) Civil Engineering, and (6) Mining Engineering. (Report of President, 1870, p. 210 in *State Papers*.)

subjects therein laid down. Then came the privilege to seniors to elect certain subjects within that course. In 1870 seniors were permitted the further freedom of breaking over the limits of their selected course and of choosing subjects from one or more of the parallel courses.¹ All this is an earnest of the free elective system that was to come later.

In 1873 Dr. Angell stated that seniors were given permission to elect work "from a wide range of subjects," and in 1874 a like privilege was granted the juniors. For two years or more, said President Angell in his report of that year, a student was held to a definite course embracing the "disciplinary and fundamental studies belonging to his course," and was then given a rather free option.²

In 1877 still another course was opened in the university, namely, a course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Letters, and articulating with the distinctively English or non-linguistic course in the high school.³

In 1880 the university had revised its courses in the literary department and reduced them to four in number. These were courses leading to the following degrees:

1. Bachelor of Letters, requiring neither Latin nor Greek either for admission or for graduation.
2. Bachelor of Science, requiring one year of Latin for admission, but none thereafter, and no Greek.
3. Bachelor of Letters (Latin), requiring Latin for admission and in college, but no Greek.
4. Bachelor of Arts, requiring both Latin and Greek for admission and also in college.⁴

At the same time, too, graduation from the university was based no longer upon a definite term of residence,

¹ President Angell's report for 1872 in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1872, p. 176.

² *Report*, 1874, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, 1877, pp. 14 and 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 110.

but upon the completion of a specific amount of work estimated in "hours."¹ For the A.B. degree 120 hours' credit were required, for the other degrees, 130 hours' credit. About half of these "hours" were open to free election by the student.²

In 1889 the study of science received another impulse through the requirement made by the university that students entering on the A.B. and the Ph.B. courses should offer for admission both physics and botany, and that candidates for the B.L. degree should present for admission three sciences or, in lieu thereof, credit in French and German.³

Finally, in 1900, the university abolished all courses, as such, in the literary department, made the work entirely elective (save for four or six hours of prescribed English), and conferred but one baccalaureate degree—Bachelor of Arts—on the completion of 120 semester hours.

Likewise, too, for admission the university no longer required conformity to any hard-and-fast courses of study in the preparatory school. Certain prescribed subjects, it is true, were still demanded of every matriculant who became a candidate for a degree, but within certain well-defined and large limits the individual had nearly free choice.⁴

As already implied, all these changes in the university reacted with great force upon the high schools of the

¹ An "hour" was usually the equivalent of one recitation per week carried through one semester.

² The A.B. course allowed 58 hours of elective studies; the B.L. (Latin), 64 hours; the B.S., 73 hours; and the B.S., 15 in natural science and 29 others unlimited in choice. (From a "Table of Statistics" prepared by Professor W. W. Beman and Superintendent W. S. Perry, and printed in *Superintendent's Report*, 1880, p. 119.)

³ *President's Report* for 1889, p. 189. Before 1889 candidates for the degree of B.L. had offered only two sciences.

⁴ The requirements for admission in 1900 were fifteen units or years' work. Of these, three units in English, three in mathematics, one in physics, and two in any foreign language were demanded of all regular students. The other six units were optional from a wide field of studies.

state. Wherever the university led, the high schools readily and willingly followed.¹

Deriving their ideals at the outset from the prevalent academies and seminaries, the high schools—before, in fact, the opening of the era under present consideration—offered their work in a more or less unorganized way. There was little or no uniformity anywhere among them. There were, of course, certain common subjects found in every school professing to have an academic department, but the order in which these were presented, the time devoted to each branch, and the general standards attained varied widely from school to school, and not infrequently, too, in the same school in different years. The number and selection of the uncommon branches taken up depended pretty largely upon expediency and the resources of the particular school. These conditions were particularly noticeable in the early union schools, and the early high schools inherited the tendency from them. If a pupil, or a group of pupils, desired to pursue a particular study, that study was usually taught. If in the following year or term there was no demand for that subject, some other was substituted in its place. If Latin or Greek were desired by any considerable number of pupils, a teacher qualified to give this instruction was secured. If later the constituency of the class left school, the teacher's time was employed in other ways. Indeed,

¹ It ought not to be understood that the university required the high schools to accept its terms. The university has never dictated. It has, however, often of its own free will and more often at the earnest solicitation of the high schools themselves, given advice and suggestions to the secondary schools, and these have usually been accepted and followed. The relation, however, between the two fields of education is purely coöperative. The university has always—and justly, one must think—claimed the right to set its own standards of admission. No high school has, however, ever been required to accept these standards against its own best interests—and no high school ought ever to do so. The public high school, as established in America, is a local institution first of all. It should defer to local interest and needs before attempting to serve in a larger capacity. This at least is the true basis of the high schools of Michigan. A very cordial, kindly, mutually helpful spirit has always existed, nevertheless, between these schools and the university. It would be a sad day for education in the state were this relation ever to cease.

the whole organization was on an elective basis, but instead of being an elective system it was, to use Professor Hanus' words, an "elective chaos."

Gradually, however, definite order and distinct courses began to emerge from the confusion, and before the opening of the true high-school period a more or less stable goal had been set up, and the straight and narrow way leading to it had been laid out. Wherever the programs of studies had evolved so far as to warrant the appellations of distinct courses, two were usually found, namely, the Classical Course and the English Course. The first of these, so far as the choice and scope of the subject-matter was concerned, was pretty uniform; the second was far from being so. In his report of 1861 Superintendent Gregory presented to the school men of Michigan a suggestive program of studies for union schools. The plan for the elementary grades is definite and specific, but for the high schools he only "indicates" what may be included. These subjects are algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, rhetoric, natural history, botany, geology, chemistry, moral and mental philosophy, and ancient and modern languages.¹ This constituted the ideal program of the day, and doubtless its recommendation was of considerable influence in helping to bring unity into the work.

Following closely the university, and keeping step with her, the high schools next began to modify and divide the two courses already mentioned, and to admit into their curricula other and newer subjects. Just as in the university, the next course to be established was the Scientific. Then came the Latin-Scientific and the English-Scientific and these were followed by courses made up of various combinations of subjects grouped under appropriate headings. Once having selected his course on

¹*Report for 1861, p. 45.*

entrance to the high school, a pupil's fate was sealed. Henceforth his road was laid out for him between narrow and unchanging lines. To turn either to the right or left was strictly forbidden; to go ahead, often impossible. The only way out for the pupil who found he had made an inapt election was to retreat to the entrance and begin again. Even this Hobson's choice was not always given him, and, if it were, discouragement frequently hemmed him in so thickly that the usual result was the total abandonment of school,—without graduation and with little or no return to show for his one or two or three years' effort.

Nevertheless, despite the apparent evils, this pernicious system dominated the schools for several years to come. Educators, however, sought to minimize the disadvantages by increasing the number of courses. Instead of giving the pupil four roads from which to select his destined way, schools offered him a choice among five, six, seven — yes, in some instances as many as eleven, twelve, or thirteen¹—different routes, whereas the difficulty lay not in the number of courses but in the fact that the inexperienced youth was not capable of unerringly selecting any course that guaranteed no need of later revision. Indeed, the multiplicity of choices tended more to confusion than to clarity. What was really needed was a training in choice before the pupil entered the high school, or at least an opportunity to correct a wrong choice as soon as the discovery was made.

¹ Ann Arbor, for example, offered the following courses in 1874: (1) Classical; (2) Latin; (3) Scientific; (4) English; (5) French and Science; (6) German and Science; (7) Latin and German; (8) German; (9) Commercial. (*Principal's Report to Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1874*, pp. 255 ff.) Grand Rapids as late as 1897 offered eleven courses as follows: (1) Commercial-English; (2) Preparatory English; (3) French-English; (4) Short German-English; (5) German-English; (6) Engineering; (7) Scientific; (8) Latin-German; (9) French-German; (10) Classical; (11) English-Scientific. Pupils, however, at this date were not held rigidly to a suggested course. (*Report of Board of Education, 1896*, p. 178; 1897, pp. 82 and 85.) The writer himself recalls having visited a school—Charlevoix—as late as 1906 in whose catalogue thirteen courses were printed, and these were expected to be followed closely in practice.

The making of courses of study had reached such a stage that it required a master to conceive them, and a past-master to interpret and apply them. Indeed, the situation had become humorous and ludicrous, and the idea began to crumble before the ridicule hurled at it.

Meanwhile, as at the university, there was creeping into high schools, here and there, the principle of free election of studies. As a rule every pupil in the earlier high schools was expected to carry simultaneously three separate branches, but strong, capable, and ambitious students were frequently permitted to pursue additional subjects lying outside the scope of the regular printed course. Particularly was this true in respect to the election of a foreign language.¹

Nevertheless it was the "regular course" and the "regular student" that received the greatest moral support and encouragement of the school. As late even as 1898, when there were enrolled in the three high schools of Detroit 3,496 pupils, only 118 were "special students," or students not following definite courses.²

In 1874, out of a selected list of twenty-eight state high schools not one permitted a pupil to break over the boundaries of his elected course of study.³ Two years later, however, East Saginaw reported having introduced the principle of a partial election of studies, and found that the idea "popularizes without destroying efficiency."⁴

All thoughtful educators seemed to have appreciated the need for greater flexibility, but no one was sufficiently

¹ For example, the catalogue of the Detroit School Board for 1879 (p. 82) declares that "a partial course" may be taken by a student, but that no certificate of graduation will be given for work thus done. The report further states that "Pupils of the English Course may take Latin, German or French as an extra study, as long as they do good work in all their studies."

² *Report of the Board of Education*, 1898, p. 128.

³ Statistics compiled by Superintendent J. C. Jones of Pontiac, and quoted in *Report of Superintendent of Public Education*, 1874, p. 370.

⁴ School report to Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1876, p. 328. The plan was, of course, free election in a limited sense only.

convinced, or sufficiently bold, to propose a complete abandonment of the idea of prescribed courses. Not until the late nineties does the idea of free elections by individual pupils seem to have been voiced before the public as the best means of remedying the difficulties. In 1898 Professor A. S. Whitney,¹ in a paper read before the State Teachers' Association, advocated the abolition of all set courses in the high school and the substitution therefor of two intensely flexible courses styled by him the "fitting" and the "finishing" courses, or the college-preparatory course and the non-college-preparatory course.²

Shortly after this date the leading schools of the state began avowedly to organize and operate their work on this basis, modifying the principle in such details of application as seemed wise for local needs. This is the situation to-day, and this is the working plan of the majority of the schools of the state.

The second notable innovation inaugurated by the university and wonderfully affecting the high schools was the plan of receiving pupils for admission upon the presentation of certificates of graduation from approved secondary schools and without any individual examination. Coupled with this plan should be considered also the influence exerted by the university upon the standards of scholarship found or demanded in the high schools.

As already mentioned in earlier chapters of this work, the scope of the subject-matter, and probably the quality of the instruction, in all the earlier colleges and universities was, aside from the classics, of a general and elementary character. This was equally true of the

¹ At that time Mr. Whitney was Superintendent of Schools in East Saginaw.

² This paper, styled "Flexibility of the High School Course," is reported in full in the *Reports of the State Teachers' Association*, and is to be found in *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1898, pp. 180 ff.

University of Michigan. Entrance requirements, aside from a knowledge of the classical languages, were nominal. Graduation standards were not high. Material prosperity, however, gave confidence, and with this came a boldness in advancing scholastic standards. Pre-admission attainments and post-admission demands were set at a higher scale. The result was that high schools, too, advanced with equal step. Not only is this true with respect to subjects directly preparatory for college, but the influence sympathetically and reflexively was carried over into the non-college-preparatory courses.

When the union schools first arose there was, as we have seen, little uniformity among them — either in their details of organization, their programs of study, or the order of presentation of instruction. Schools were divided into grades to meet local convenience or the theories of the local officials. As new subject-matter was added new grades were organized to encompass it. In time union schools with fifteen grades were not uncommon. These, as we have seen, were divided into what was equivalent to the first primary, second primary, intermediate, grammar, and high-school departments, each containing two or more grades organized to cover two or more years of study. The high-school department was almost always divided into three grades only, though in some instances, even at the outset, it was planned to cover four or even five years' work. The school year of from thirty-six to forty-five weeks was divided into three terms, and subjects of instruction were fitted into these terms according to local desires.

Not infrequently one finds in the early high schools the Classical Course planned for the longer period, while the English Course was drawn to cover only two or three

years' time¹—a fact that reveals the inferior rank accorded the mere "practical" subjects in those days. Indeed, about this time there seems to have been at the university an ambition to shape the whole system of education in Michigan on the German model. The high schools, it was hoped, would develop into *gymnasien*, and the university would then be able gradually to shift the undergraduate or college work from the one central institution to the various secondary schools, and thus leave opportunity to herself to devote her time and efforts exclusively to graduate or research study. President Frieze in his report for 1870 expressly voiced this wish and hope. After noting the fact that the requirements for admission to the university were much more exacting than they had been fifteen years before, he adds: "I cannot but think that there are existing in the state the conditions which, seized upon now and carefully watched and improved will, in the end, develop the gymnasium in its proper place and secure to us the true University."² One public high school of this state, at the close of the present year, has sent into our Academic Department a class of thirty-five students, well prepared. The high schools of the state, in general, are yearly coming into more intimate relations to the University, and sending increasing numbers to its halls."³

¹ In Grand Rapids in 1859 the English Course was three years in length; the Classical, five. (*Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1859*, p. 99.) At the same time Jackson devoted three years to each course. (*Ibid.*, p. 121.) Marshall, on the other hand, gave four years to the English Course and three to the Classical. (*Ibid.*, p. 144.) Monroe had a "Primary Department" of three years, a "Junior Department" of six years, and an "Academical Department" of five years—that is, fourteen years all told. (*Ibid.*, p. 151.)

² The German influence on the high schools of Michigan was perhaps best seen in the organization at Monroe. Here there were fourteen years' work laid out and grades were numbered in reverse order to the common American plan, that is, the most elementary grade was called the ninth grade, the next one above, the eighth grade, and so on up to the academic department. The lowest grade of this department was styled the "E Class," the next above the "D Class," and thence on through the "C Class," "B Class," and "A Class." The last, the "A Class," was the graduating class of the high school. (*Report of the school in Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1859*, pp. 151 ff.)

³ *President's Report, 1870*, p. 208.

In this same report President Frieze also mentions the fact that certain educators, within and without the university, had suggested a way of bringing the high schools into closer relations to that institution by means of "a Commission of Examiners from the Academic Faculty" which "should visit annually such schools as may desire it and give certificates to those pupils who may be successful in their examinations, entitling them to admission, without further examination, to the University."¹

Later in the same year President Angell in his inaugural address voiced similar views. "The time is not far distant," said he, "when the better and stronger institutions can safely push up their requirements for admission to the standard now reached at the beginning of the Sophomore year, and I am confident that the day is not remote when they can secure yet higher attainments."²

President Angell then suggested that the high schools take over instruction in mathematics at least up to trigonometry, and that the elements of physiology, botany, physics, French, and a year or more of Latin be given in every one of the stronger schools.

The next year, 1871, these ideas had begun to be put into effect by the university. A year of French was required for admission to the Latin-Scientific Course. In 1872 one year of French and an elementary knowledge of natural philosophy, botany, zoölogy, and geology were required for admission to the Scientific Course. In 1874 an additional year of Latin was required for admission to the Classical Course.³ Still later, other demands were added. For example, in 1889 physics and botany were

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

² Inaugural address, *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1871*, pp. 214 ff.

³ *President's Report, 1872*, p. 180.

made preparatory subjects for admission to the courses leading to the A.B. and the Ph.B. degrees; and three sciences, or in lieu thereof a knowledge of French and German, were demanded for admission to the course leading to the B.L. degree.

Necessarily, and as one would expect, those requirements of admission to the university were followed by a revision of the courses of study in the high schools, though it is true some school boards objected to what they were pleased to call the "dictation" from the university and refused to comply with the conditions that would enable their youth to prepare themselves to enter the university.¹

Many high schools in fact found themselves between two forces and were violently pulled in opposite directions at the same time. The narrowly prescribed courses often met local needs very ineffectively. There was a demand for more liberality and for more popular and practical subjects. Despite the efforts of teachers and officials, proportionally few pupils who entered the high schools remained to graduate. In 1874, Grand Rapids, for example, reduced the high-school course from four years to three years expressly to meet this difficulty and to encourage pupils to aspire to a diploma.² Other schools acted in a similar way, and nearly all made efforts to minimize the faults by increasing and popularizing the courses of study.

Just at this juncture, it will be recalled, the new demands from the university were forcing additional burdens upon schools that still aimed to be preparatory schools. The cry went up that the pupils were overtaxed; that the

¹ Report of the Board of Visitors to the University in 1872, *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1872, p. 195.

² Report of the school for 1874, *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 260.

program of studies was overcrowded; that the courses were not sufficiently extended to enable the work to be done properly and without injury to the pupils. To the plan for decreasing the length of the course to encourage graduation, and hence to secure for more pupils at least three years of academic training, was now opposed the idea of increasing the allotted time in order to relieve the overburdening and to meet the university requirements. As was to be expected, both parties won certain temporary victories, but the ultimate outcome was an advance in the standards of scholarship, and hence a uniform increase in the length of the high-school course to four years.¹

The standard school period was now one of twelve years and twelve grades. In 1877 no school reported more than twelve grades, though communities not being able or not finding it expedient to support a four-year high-school course naturally stopped short at the ninth, tenth, or eleventh grade.² On the other hand, not a few of the better schools of the state began to furnish post-graduate work for such students as cared to return to the high school after having taken a diploma at the end of the regular four years' course. For the most part these

¹ Ann Arbor, for example, in 1874 took steps to make her high-school course four years instead of three. Battle Creek had already done this three years before, in 1871. (*Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1875*, p. 325.) In 1876 Saginaw reported that their course of study had, during the past five years, been gradually reduced from fifteen years to twelve years. (*Report, 1876*, p. 269.) Niles the same year increased the high-school course from three years to four by transferring one year of the grammar grades to the high school. (*Ibid.*, p. 308.) Flint reported a full four years' high-school course of four parallel courses of study. (*Ibid.*, p. 274.) Business courses also began to appear about this time, Grand Rapids establishing one in 1875. (*Report, 1875*, p. 355.)

The superintendent of the Adrian schools, Mr. Payne, in his report for 1875 emphatically declared that "the settled line of policy" of their school was "to provide that kind of instruction which will best meet the wants of the community. Public opinion in this community at this time is unmistakably in favor of that class of studies embraced in the Continental *real-schule*—Latin, History, Mathematics and Natural Science—and hence the organization of our High School is therefore on this basis." (*Report of 1875*, p. 304.) The Classical Course was therefore abolished at Adrian at this time.

² In 1877 there were 721 schools having twelve grades; 1,108 having eleven grades; 1,659 having ten grades; and 2,364 having nine grades. The total number of schools offering more than merely eight grades of work thus was 5,852. (*Report, 1877*, p. 8.) Of course few of these possessed real high schools.

pupils included those who desired to secure a cultural knowledge of subjects not regularly found in their chosen course, those who were eager to prepare themselves better in practical subjects or for positions as teachers, and those who sought to fit themselves more thoroughly for admission to college or who hoped to secure for this extra work advanced credit from the college authorities. The University of Michigan has always recognized and encouraged this work of supererogation and has allowed definite university credit therefor.¹ Hence many a student has been able to shorten his college course by one full year or more, thus bringing to pass, in a measure, Dr. Frieze's and Dr. Angell's wishes, uttered forty years ago.

Somewhat later, in 1891, Dr. Angell in his annual report says, apropos of this question: "It is gratifying to hear that some of the schools of Michigan think they can do the most or whole of the work of our first year, and can send their students prepared to take up the studies of our second year. We should be only too glad to be relieved altogether of our first year's work, and we desire to encourage the schools in their praiseworthy efforts to carry their pupils farther than they have done heretofore, provided they do not diminish the thoroughness of the more elementary work."² About this same period — between 1870 and 1880 — the trimestrial division of the school year was largely abandoned, and, following the example of the university, the semestrial plan was substituted in its place.

Meanwhile the *entente* of the university and the high schools was becoming firmer and closer through the operation of the idea of "affiliation." This plan was first

¹ In 1876 Detroit, for example, had five regular high-school grades, and in addition, a post-graduate grade. This last contained at that time twenty-nine students. (*Principals' Report of 1876*, p. 262.)

² President Angell's annual report, 1891, p. 88, in *State Reports of that year*.

put into effect in 1871. Under the earliest arrangements a committee of the Literary Faculty — a committee of one, two, or three members usually — visited, upon request, any high school whose program of studies was sufficiently comprehensive in scope to fit pupils for admission to *all* of the courses offered in the university. If, after a personal inspection of the school, the committee was satisfied with the organization, teaching staff, equipment, and the general work done, and was convinced that its graduates could satisfactorily pursue work in the university, such graduates, if recommended by the high-school principal or by the superintendent, were admitted directly to the freshman class in the university without further examination.

The plan was immensely popular from the start. The very first year fifty candidates were thus admitted.¹ Each succeeding year brought additional requests from the high schools soliciting a visit of inspection, and each year brought increased numbers into the university through this door. The university authorities approved the idea, for it almost guaranteed large entering classes. It also did away, in a measure, with the delay and tedium incident to the formal examinations held at the beginning of each college year. The plan was, too, regarded as a safer, surer, and saner test of a pupil's ability than was any short, formal, and chance examination. Moreover, the scheme enabled members of the faculty to come into personal contact with the constituency of the university, and thus better to know the public sentiments and needs; and, in consequence, permitted them to adapt their work more justly to social ends.

The high-school authorities supported the plan, since

¹These came from six schools as follows: three from Detroit, eight from Flint, seven from Jackson, three from Kalamazoo, one from Adrian, and twenty-eight from Ann Arbor. (*President's Report*, 1872, p. 181.)

"affiliation" brought the school thus recognized into dignity and prominence in the state, reflected honor upon its teachers and officials, and attracted to its halls in turn a larger proportion of the youth of the community. The pupils preparing for college also naturally applauded the plan as it saved them the ordeal — often a nerve-racking and dangerous ordeal — of undergoing the burden of a dozen or more examinations crowded into one week, conducted at a distance from their homes, before a strange, and therefore awe-inspiring and intimidating, body of examiners.

In fact, few persons in the state could be found to oppose the scheme, and, after an experience of nearly forty years, none, apparently, who would abandon it.¹ Nearly every report of President Angell for the subsequent ten or a dozen years contains a paragraph extolling the merits of the system as seen in practice, and expressing his gratitude for the cordial and generous coöperation given to this matter by the schools and the officials and teachers of the state.

Gratifying, too, was the fact that the standard of work and of deportment maintained by the students thus admitted to the university was, on the whole, superior to that of pupils admitted on examination. There were fewer "failures" and fewer "conditions" among the certificated students than among the others.²

In 1876 the accrediting system underwent another change, made in the interest of the high schools and the public. Up to that year no student was admitted to the university without examination, unless the high school from which he graduated was organized and equipped to

¹ There is now and then heard a criticism of the plan, but it is a criticism directed against the careless application of the principle rather than against the principle itself.

² *President's Report 1872*, pp. 181 ff. Later reports also substantiate this claim.

prepare pupils simultaneously for admission to *all* the undergraduate courses. As already seen, many high schools felt indisposed to attempt to meet these requirements. The Classical Course, requiring both Latin and Greek, seemed everywhere to be on the wane. Few high schools could or would therefore support this course. Few—very few—pupils in the smaller cities and towns cared to pursue the study of Greek, and it was a burden to the taxpayers to continue classes in this subject for one, or two, or three pupils. In the year mentioned the university recognized the justness of this attitude and thereupon granted limited certificate privileges to those high schools that were found fitted to prepare students for admission to *any one* course in the university. This change encouraged small schools to do well the work in a limited field rather than to attempt too much and run the risk of doing all superficially and ineffectively. This provision in consequence added a number of high schools to the university approved list and stimulated others to reach out for similar honors.¹

When still later the principle of free individual election of studies came into common usage,² still greater freedom was granted to the high schools. Then pupils' admission to the university was determined not by any absolutely

¹ In 1880, as we have seen, there were four courses in the Literary Department of the university. That year there were, all told, sixteen high schools of the state on the affiliated list. (*President's Report*, 1880, p. 112.)

Superintendent J. C. Jones of Pontiac in his report for 1874 summed up the advantages of the accrediting system, as he conceived them, as follows: (1) It had intensified, deepened, and dignified the work of the high schools. (2) It had led to conversation about the university and had therefore set more youths toward a college career. (3) It had stimulated parental pride in the high schools. (4) It had benefited the pupils physically and mentally by removing the dread of examinations. (5) It had held more pupils in the high schools until graduation and had caused more of them to go on to callings of leadership and dignity. (6) It had tended to bring a uniformity to the programs of study. (7) It had prevented poorly prepared pupils getting into college on the chance passing of the examination. (8) It had stimulated the teachers to do their best. (Paper read before the State Teachers' Association at Kalamazoo.)

² In May, 1900, the university voted to abolish all fixed courses, to adopt the principle of absolutely free election of subject-matter (save English), and to grant but one bachelor's degree in the Literary Department, namely Bachelor of Arts, given on the completion of one hundred and twenty semester hours' work.

uniform standard, but each one's case was judged upon its merits. Since, moreover, only two years' preparation in any one foreign language was then made the maximum foreign-language requirement for admission to the university, many new schools were in a position to aspire to the honor of affiliation. Indeed, there were few schools in the state which offered a full four years' high-school course that could not nominally fulfill this linguistic requirement. The effects of this plan may be judged from the fact that in 1907 out of the 285 high schools having a four-year course, 138 were affiliated with the university.¹

As was to be expected, the new relations established between the high schools and the university soon affected the relation existing between the high schools and the grades below them. In the earlier days admission to the high schools was possible only upon condition of passing an examination set by the high-school authorities. Usually this examination included arithmetic, geography, grammar, reading, writing, and orthography. In a few schools United States history was required. Soon, however, just as the leaving examinations of the high schools served for admission to the university, so the examinations and recommendations of the eighth-grade teachers became, in themselves, tickets of admission to the high school. In some schools, to be sure, this privilege was slow to be granted, but before 1900 the custom was practically universal.

As we have seen elsewhere, the agitation for absolutely free public schools was going on throughout the state from an early date. The revised constitution of 1851 gave impetus to the movement, and one by one the schools gave up the practice of levying rate bills. It was

¹ *Superintendent's Report, 1907*, pp. 232 ff., and p. 10.

not, however, until 1869 that a general law made the custom illegal throughout the state. This act, moreover, had application only to the primary schools. Until the decision in the Kalamazoo case in 1874, high schools were not indubitably a part of these. Since that date, though, all high schools have been free to all residents of the district who are of school age.¹ Residents not of the district in which the high school is located were nevertheless required to pay such tuition for school privileges as the school officials might levy. This practice worked particular hardship upon the country youth who lived in districts possessing no city or village high school. To secure a high-school education such students were obliged not only to journey to a neighboring town but to pay, out of their own pockets, the tuition demanded there. Effort was repeatedly made to correct this inequality and injustice, but success did not come until after the opening of the twentieth century. In 1901 a permissive law was enacted authorizing township boards in townships having no village or city high school to establish a rural high school.² The response, however, was not as ready as was expected.³ The law provided that manual training, domestic science, nature study, and the elements of agriculture might be included in the program of study, but even with these "practical" subjects available, rural communities were negligent about voting the school. In 1903 a supplementary law⁴ authorized districts to vote a tax to pay the tuition and the expense of daily transportation of such pupils as were prepared

¹ The school age now is from five years to twenty-one years.

² Act 144, Laws of 1901.

³ The first rural high school to be erected under this law was at Covert, in Van Buren County, in 1903. (*Report*, 1903, p. 7.) But Superintendent Wright in his report of 1907 (p. 20) declared that "this law has been practically a dead letter until the year 1907." At that time Excelsior, Kalkaska County, established a school, and two or three other townships took steps to do likewise. (*Report*, 1907, p. 10.)

⁴ Act 190, Laws of 1903.

and desirous of attending a neighboring high school, but like all permissive laws this was slow to be adopted.

In 1909, however, the provisions of the law of 1903 respecting tuition were made mandatory, and much benefit has been derived from their operation.¹

In 1903 there was also enacted a law providing that county normal training classes² might be organized in connection with one selected high school in each county. This act aimed to provide a body of teachers for the rural schools, and while the normal class is separate and distinct from the high school proper, the requirements for admission to this class are such that its establishment has great influence on the high school.³

In 1907, an act authorized county schools of agriculture and domestic science.⁴ These are not strictly high schools in the commonly accepted meaning of the expression. Nevertheless this type of school requires for admission previous graduation from an eighth-grade course and thus is in fact a high school. The work comprises two years, but for some unexplained reasons rural peoples have not taken kindly to the school. Up to 1915 only two such schools had been established.

Just as the fifty years after 1859 witnessed a gradual development of greater or less uniformity in the organization of the high schools of the state, the elevation

¹ Act 37, Laws of 1909. The law gives parents of children who have completed the eighth-grade studies the right to select any one of the three nearest high schools and to send their children thereto. The district is then required to vote the tuition and may vote the transportation. Further amendments were made to the law in 1911 and 1913, so that to-day a country boy or girl has approximately the same legal opportunities for a high-school education as the town or city youth.

² Act 241, Laws of 1903.

³ The course is one or two years in length. The one-year course is open to (a) graduates of the tenth grade in any high school; (b) holders of a second-grade certificate; or persons who have taught two years in any public school. The second year is open to (a) those having passed the first year's work; (b) graduates of a four-year high school; or persons holding a first-grade certificate. (*Report*, 1903, p. 39.) In 1907 thirty-two such classes had been formed. In 1915 the number had grown to forty-five.

⁴ Act 35, Laws of 1907.

of the standards of scholarship, and the increased flexibility in the courses of study, so did they produce a marked change in the scope and content of the school program. Before 1849, as we have seen, the old, narrow, classical curriculum had given place, to a large extent, to scientific branches. Indeed, as one studies the programs of the middle period of the century one is inclined to think that there was an excess of zeal in this respect. The old curricula had demanded from three to five years' work in Latin and two or three in Greek. The new curricula seemed to think that equality could not be demonstrated unless a like period of time was devoted to science. Inasmuch, however, as one course or partial course was at that time sufficiently long to exhaust the knowledge of the subject, and since the idea of laboratory experiments had scarcely taken form in college courses, to say nothing of high-school science work, the efforts that to-day are usually concentrated on two or four scientific branches were then spread over the whole field. The result was an elementary and hence superficial knowledge of six or seven sciences. Those most commonly found in the better and larger schools included physiology, physical geography, botany, zoölogy, astronomy, chemistry, natural philosophy, and geology. Each usually covered not more than two terms' work.

While thus, at this early time, science and the classics were jealously jostling each other for advantages in the curriculum, there was little or no attention given to certain other subjects which to-day hold an honored place in the schools. The study of English, for example, consisted of scarcely more than a term or two of formal grammar and exercises in analysis of words and parsing. The rich fields of literature lay unexplored and almost unknown. Now and then the elements of rhetoric were

studied, but the approach was deductive and yielded impoverished results.

In the sphere of history one or two courses, covering two terms and intended chiefly to aid the classical student, constituted, for the most part, the entire offering. The course was styled "General History," but it began with the Greeks and ended with the Romans, with brief — very brief — mention of world-facts lying outside this compass. The study of American history was practically unheard of in 1859.

Modern foreign-language study was just beginning to receive respectful recognition, but was still confined to the larger and more progressive schools. The classics and the sciences, with some mathematics, virtually preempted the entire high-school field fifty years ago, and left only the interstices for other branches. Then came a change — almost a revolution.

Although there was a semblance of likeness in the larger features of the high-school curricula, there was no close uniformity even here. Each school program shows individual characteristics. Perhaps a typical one is the following. It is the program of studies for the Grand Rapids High School for 1862. It is divided into two courses, namely, the English Course of three years' duration and the Classical Course of five years. The year was divided into three terms.

THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES FOR THE GRAND RAPIDS
HIGH SCHOOL FOR THE YEAR 1862¹

YEAR		TERM		ENGLISH COURSE	
I	{	1st		Arithmetic, Physiology, Ancient History.	
		2d		Algebra, Physical Geography, Modern History, Analysis of English Language.	
		3d		Algebra, Botany, Zoölogy, Analysis and Parsing.	

¹ School report for 1862 in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1862*, pp. 99 ff.

YEAR	TERM	ENGLISH COURSE—continued
2	1st	Geometry, Botany, Zoölogy, Astronomy.
	2d	Geometry, Higher Algebra, Chemistry, Astronomy.
	3d	Higher Algebra, Chemistry, Geology, Natural Philosophy.
3	1st	Trigonometry, Geology, Mental Philosophy and Logic, Rhetoric.
	2d	Mental Philosophy, Rhetoric, Household Science, Ancient Geography.
	3d	Household Science, Civil Government, Moral Philosophy, Reviews.

YEAR	TERM	CLASSICAL COURSE
1	1st	Latin Grammar, Higher Arithmetic, Physiology.
	2d	Latin Reader, Elementary Algebra, Modern History.
	3d	Latin Reader, Elementary Algebra, Botany.
2	1st	Latin Reader, Botany, English Analysis and Parsing.
	2d	Sallust, Chemistry, Physical Geography.
	3d	Sallust, Chemistry, Zoölogy.
3	1st	Sallust, Ancient History, Geometry.
	2d	Vergil, Higher Algebra, Geometry, Rhetoric.
	3d	Vergil, Greek Grammar, Higher Algebra, Natural Philosophy.
4	1st	Vergil, Greek Grammar and Reader, Trigonometry, Astronomy.
	2d	Cicero, Latin Prose Composition, Greek Grammar and Reader, Astronomy.
	3d	Cicero, Latin Prose Composition, Xenophon, Geology.
5	1st	Livy, <i>Anabasis</i> , Mental Philosophy and Logic, Geology.
	2d	Tacitus, Homer, Household Science, Mental Philosophy.
	3d	Horace, Homer, Household Science, Moral Philosophy.

One notes in this program illustrations of the general assertions just made respecting the disproportionate emphasis on certain branches, and the total or large neglect of others. Here are eight sciences, and two and one-third years of mathematics in both courses. English and English literature are represented by two terms

devoted to analysis, parsing, and rhetoric. History is accorded an obscure place and disposed of in two terms, while modern foreign-language study is conspicuous by its entire absence. There are, from the viewpoint of the present day, many other serious faults of omission. There are no "commercial" or business subjects; no manual training; no political economy or other social science save perchance civil government. In Latin and Greek, formal grammar leads the way. All courses are of short duration and seemingly stand in no perfect logical order. Mental and moral philosophy still hold their time-honored rank.

A study of other programs of study reveals similar conditions throughout the state, the subject-matter varying with the personal views of the officials and with the traditions of the community.¹

At about this same time in connection with many high schools, there were established so-called teachers' departments. The aim of these was to give prospective teachers of rural and city schools a general review of the subjects to be taught, together with suggestions respecting methods of presentation and of discipline. These departments rested wholly upon authorization of local school boards, but in 1863 the Superintendent of Public Instruction declared "these classes are now common to most of our high schools."² The following year he urged the legislature to give them legal authorization throughout the state.³

During this early period some little sentiment seems to have arisen in favor of offering Latin in the grammar

¹ The program at Monroe in 1862 included: (a) Mathematics: Written and Mental Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry; (b) Science: Geography, Physiology, Botany, Physical Geography, Natural Philosophy, Geology, Astronomy, Chemistry; (c) English: Grammar, Rhetoric, Analysis of English Language; (d) History: U.S. History, English History, General History, Civics; (e) Philosophy: Mental and Moral Philosophy; (f) Language: Greek, Latin, French, and German; (g) Book-keeping. (*Report*, 1862, p. 151.)

² *Report*, 1863, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 29.

grades, for such pupils as expected to continue through the high school and college, but the idea received little practical encouragement.¹

In the meantime, as we have seen in earlier pages of this chapter, the university had not only increased the number of courses in the Literary Department, but had instituted higher requirements for admission. It had also begun to allow some small opportunity for free election of studies in the senior year, and had begun to use laboratory methods in science. Now the high schools modified their programs in harmony. In the school reports for 1874 nearly every high school boasted of what then seemed an adequate supply of school apparatus, including chemical and philosophical equipment and instruments, maps, charts, and so on. Grand Rapids led the procession with apparatus valued at twenty thousand dollars. Detroit claimed eight thousand dollars thus invested. The supplies in other cities and towns ranged in value from zero to two thousand dollars, but in by far the larger number of schools there was less than five hundred dollars worth of equipment all told.²

Few schools possessed high-school libraries of any significance.

Perhaps the best survey of the scope of the work given in the high schools thirty-five years ago can be had from the following statistical reports collected and compiled by Superintendent J. C. Jones of Pontiac, in 1874.³

Statistics from 28 selected high schools in 1874: Total enrollment, 2,748; average enrollment per school, 98; pupils enrolled in different subjects as follows: Latin,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

² *Report*, 1874, Table C, p. lxxv.

³ The paper containing these data was read before the meeting of the State Teachers' Association held at Kalamazoo in that year, and is printed in full in the records of that society. It is also found in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1874, pp. 370 *ff.* The data were taken from twenty-eight selected high schools.

730; Greek, 156; German, 481; French, 283; geometry, 584; algebra, 1,510; higher arithmetic, 1,024; book-keeping, 314; physiology, 540; chemistry, 275; geology, 213; zoölogy, 279; natural philosophy, 530; civil government, 283; English grammar, 1,014; rhetoric, 441; English literature, 228; United States history, 550; physical geography, 530; general history, 480; Greek history, 149; moral philosophy, 98; mental philosophy, 117; geometrical drawing, 147; astronomy, 175; botany, 207; trigonometry, 42.

The same report gives the number of instructors in these 28 schools as 87, each of whom conducted on an average of six and one-half recitations a day, and received an average salary of \$862.50.¹ The per capita cost per pupil was \$27.50. Of the 2,748 students enrolled, 514 declared their intention of entering the University of Michigan or other colleges. Twenty-three schools found strong support in the communities, while five met with considerable opposition. In 21 schools teachers aided pupils to select their courses of study, and all 28 schools required rigid adherence to the choice when once it was made. Each school had, usually, three parallel courses of study based on the courses in the university. The high schools averaged three teachers each.

These statistics, when analyzed, reveal some interesting changes from the conditions of twelve years before. Modern language had now a firm foothold; book-keeping had quite a following; United States history had secured a recognized place in the field, and the study of English and English literature was growing. The sciences held their rank both in variety of subject-matter and in numbers of students.

There was, however, at this time frequent and loud complaint of the overtaking of pupils. Superintendent

¹ The salaries of all the superintendents are averaged with these figures.

Briggs, in his report for 1875,¹ declared that there was a general tendency over the state to hurry students along through the grades to make room for others, and hence many youths found themselves in the high schools before they were fitted to undertake the work there. To meet these deficiencies the high schools were, he added, obliged to devote considerable time to reviews of grade subjects, and thus were further hampered and embarrassed in the performance of their own true duties.

To meet the specific needs of the pupils not preparing for college, and at the same time to conform to the definite demands for higher standards being made by the university, schools began to consolidate and unify their programs more and more. Subjects no longer demanded for admission to college and having no conceivably direct bearing on local needs were one by one lopped off the curriculum, and the time thus gained was employed in intensifying and prolonging the work on subjects already in the program, or else was allotted to new subjects of a more "practical" character.²

The program of study for the Detroit High School in 1879 was as follows. The work was arranged in four courses—English, Latin, Classical, and Scientific—and the year was divided into three terms.

FIRST YEAR³

COURSE	
English	Arithmetic, Algebra, Book-keeping, English Syntax, Reading, Spelling.
Latin	Arithmetic, Algebra, Latin Grammar and Reader, English Syntax, Reading, Spelling.

¹ *Report*, 1875, p. lxx. This is the old perennial cry: "All before me failed as teachers. I alone am instructing the youth as he should be instructed."

² Grand Rapids, for example, had during the fifteen years preceding 1875 one by one omitted from its program the following branches: Higher arithmetic; higher English analysis; higher algebra; trigonometry; analytical geometry; composition and derivation of words; advanced rhetoric; household science; moral philosophy; political economy; science of government; Sallust's *Jugurtha*; Vergil's *Eclogues*, and selections from Livy, Tacitus, and Horace. (*Report*, 1875, p. 356.)

³ *Principal's Report*, 1879, pp. 81, 82.

FIRST YEAR—continued

COURSE	
Classical	Same as Latin Course.
Scientific	Same as English Course.

SECOND YEAR

COURSE	
English	Geometry, General History, Zoölogy, Botany, Spelling, Reading, English Literature.
Latin	Geometry, General History, Caesar, Latin Prose, Spelling, Reading, English Literature.
Classical	Same as the Latin Course with Greek added.
Scientific	Geometry, General History, Botany, Zoölogy, English Literature, Spelling, French (optional).

THIRD YEAR

COURSE	
English	Algebra, English Literature, English Syntax, Essays, Rhetoric.
Latin	Geometry, English Syntax, Essays, Cicero and Vergil, Latin Prose, French.
Classical	Same as the Latin Course with Greek added.
Scientific	Geometry, English Syntax, Essays, English Literature, French.

FOURTH YEAR (by terms)**FIRST TERM**

COURSE	
English	Arithmetic (review), Natural Philosophy, Mental Philosophy, Astronomy, Orations, Essays.
Latin	Arithmetic (review), Solid Geometry, Vergil, Latin Prose (review), French, Orations, Essays.
Classical	Arithmetic (review), Solid Geometry, Vergil, Latin Prose, Greek History, <i>Anabasis</i> , Greek Prose, Orations, Essays.
Scientific	Natural Philosophy, Solid Geometry, French, Drawing, English Literature, Orations, Essays.

SECOND TERM

COURSE	
English	Arithmetic (review), Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Local Geography (review), Chemistry, Orations, Essays.
Latin	Arithmetic (review), Algebra, Roman History, Vergil, Latin Prose (review), French, Orations, Essays.

SECOND TERM—continued	
COURSE	
Classical	Arithmetic (review), Algebra, Roman History, Vergil, Latin Prose (review), Greek History, <i>Anabasis</i> , Greek Prose, Orations, Essays.
Scientific	Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Local Geography (review), Drawing, French, Orations, Essays.

THIRD TERM	
COURSE	
English	Natural Philosophy, United States History, United States Civil Government (review), Chemistry, Orations, Essays.
Latin	Algebra (review), Geometry (review), Roman History, Vergil, Latin Prose (review), French, Orations, Essays.
Classical	Algebra (review), Geometry (review), <i>Anabasis</i> , Greek Prose, Roman History, Greek History, Vergil, Latin Prose (review), Orations, Essays.
Scientific	Natural Philosophy, United States History, Algebra (review), Geometry (review), United States Civil Government (review), French, Mechanical Drawing, Orations, Essays. ¹

In order to help bring system out of the confusion and to encourage the acceptance of a uniform program of studies for the entire state, the Association of City Superintendents in 1875 drew up and recommended a specific plan. The Superintendent of Public Instruction approved the recommendation, published it in his annual report, and circulated it with the further co-recommendation of the State Department. But few schools seem to have adopted the scheme *in toto*, and only slowly were programs reshaped to conform to it in all its more important aspects.

The recommendation follows:²

¹ The textbooks in most common use thirty-five years ago were: Mathematics: Olney's, Robinson's, Ray's, and Davies' texts; General History: Swinton's and Anderson's texts; Rhetoric: Hart's and Quackenbos' texts; Physiology: Steele's, Dalton's, Loomis', and Brown's texts; Botany: Gray's and Wood's texts; Zoology: Tenney's, Steele's, Smellie's texts; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry: Cooley's, Steele's, Norton's, Well's, Hooker's, and Quackenbos' texts. (*Report*, 1877, p. xix.) Here too, it is observed, is little uniformity.

² *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1876, p. xlix.

YEAR TERM	SUBJECT-MATTER
1	1 Algebra, Composition, Physiology.
	2 Algebra, Grammar, Zoölogy.
	3 Algebra, Analysis, Botany.
2	1 Arithmetic, General History, Botany, Physical Geography.
	2 Arithmetic, General History, Botany, Physical Geography..
	3 Book-keeping, General History, Science of Government.
3	1 Geometry, French or German, Natural Philosophy.
	2 Geometry, French or German, Natural Philosophy.
	3 Geometry, French or German, Rhetoric.
4	1 Algebra, French or German, Rhetoric.
	2 Algebra, French or German, English Literature.
	3 Geometrical Drawing, French or German, English Literature.

One is impressed at once by a survey of this plan with the happy simplicity of the whole. What a sweeping away of diversified subject-matter there is! A movement toward concentration is very apparent, but even yet the sciences are more or less "chopped up." There are, too, grave faults of omission. The "practical" subjects are represented alone by book-keeping. United States history is lacking. The English work is not well arranged. No reference is made to the classical languages, but since the plan was drawn for all schools one would expect this omission. Obviously, schools that desired to incorporate a Classical Course were expected to do so. The whole plan, however, points plainly in the direction of a simplified curriculum, and hence, by implication, to a curtailment of individual and local choices. The actual trend, however, was just the opposite.

At least as early as 1876¹ there was to be found in some

¹ Grand Rapids in this year allowed a choice between book-keeping and history but in the English Course only. In 1880 the whole senior work in this course was elective. (*Principal's Report*, 1876, p. 285, and *Board of Education Report*, 1880, p. 30.) East Saginaw, in its report of 1876, also speaks of introducing a free election of studies. (*Report*, 1876, p. 328.) This report adds: "It popularizes without destroying the efficiency of the work."

high schools the inception of the principle of individual election. By 1880 the idea had gained quite a respectable clientèle, but was still rarely found in practice.

In 1881 in the State Teachers' Association a plea was made for industrial training in the schools, but apparently left no impression sufficiently strong to excite to action.¹ Still, there was growing more and more a feeling that the high schools should better meet the local and practical needs — that they did not exist primarily to prepare for college.²

A state law enacted in 1884 made it obligatory on every public school of the state — both elementary and secondary — to offer prescribed courses in physiology and hygiene, treated with especial reference to the effects of narcotics and alcohol upon the human body.³ This law, together with the requirements of the university respecting physics and botany, made these three sciences commonly prescribed subjects in practically every course of all the better schools.

For the next ten years the program of studies, on the whole, remained virtually unchanged. Individual schools modified their work somewhat by curtailing or eliminating certain subjects that were not in especial favor in the community and by adding such as the people desired.⁴ There was, therefore, still no uniformity. Pupils passing from one town and school to another often found more or less difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new conditions. Not infrequently by such removal they lost one full year's credit toward graduation.

To obviate these disadvantages and to improve the

¹ Paper read by Mr. F. E. Clark of Orchard Lake. (*Report of 1881*, pp. 289 ff.)

² Resolution of State Teachers' Association, 1880.

³ Laws of 1884, Chap. 3, Sec. 15.

⁴ Adrian, for example, in 1876 dropped astronomy, zoölogy, and geology from the program, and reduced the study of algebra to one year. Civics and drawing were added. (*Report*, 1876, p. 222.)

situation in general, the State Teachers' Association again in 1894 appointed a committee to wrestle with the question and to draft a new program of studies for the guidance of all the schools of the state.¹ This committee formulated and reported a number of resolutions, based in large measure upon the suggestions made by the National Committee of Ten.² The most salient recommendations made by the local committee were:

1. That the recommendations of the Committee of Ten be adopted respecting the study of foreign language and mathematics in the eighth grade, and also respecting the study of English in the high school.³
2. That a year's work in general history be required of all students in the tenth grade.
3. That physics be taught in the twelfth grade.
4. That botany be taught the second semester of the ninth grade.
5. That no pupil be permitted to carry more than sixteen hours of recitation per week during the first two years of the high school, and not more than eighteen in the last two years.⁴

The committee then proposed the following scheme of studies for all schools, recognizing the four standard courses—Classical, Latin, Scientific, and English—and appraising the different subjects by means of points or credits or units.⁵ Sixty-eight and one-half units were to be required for graduation from any course. Of these, 37 points were constant for all. These were: English, 12 points; general history, 5 points; algebra, $7\frac{1}{2}$ points; geometry, 5 points; botany, $2\frac{1}{2}$ points; and

¹ This committee convened in final meeting at Ann Arbor, June 28, 1895.

² The Committee of Ten reported in December, 1893.

³ These were that Latin or German be begun in the eighth grade as alternates (optionals) with English grammar; that concrete geometry and algebra be given a large place in the eighth grade; and that four years' work in English be offered in the high school. (See *Report of Committee of Ten*.)

⁴ In the original draft of their resolutions the committee also recommended that two years of foreign language be required of all students in the eleventh and twelfth grades, but in their later draft this provision was eliminated. (*Report*, 1895, p. 85.)

⁵ A point, or unit, signified one recitation per week for one year. Ten points, for example, signified five recitations per week for a period of two years.

physics, 5 points. Additional subjects to be required in the different courses were:

CLASSICAL		LATIN-SCIENTIFIC	
SUBJECT	POINTS	SUBJECT	POINTS
Latin	20	Latin	20
Greek	10	French or German	10
Elective	1½	Elective	1½
Total	31½	Total	31½
SCIENTIFIC		ENGLISH	
SUBJECT	POINTS	SUBJECT	POINTS
U.S. History and Civics	5	English Literature	5
Foreign Language	20	English History	5
Chemistry	5	U.S. History	5
Elective	1½	Arithmetic and Book-keeping	2½
Total	31½	Chemistry	5
		Laboratory Science	5
		Physiology	2½
		Elective	1½
		Total	31½

The committee then distributed this program over four years' time and thus offered to the various schools of the state a definite scheme for their guidance. While of course there was no legal power attached to the recommendations, they did, as the earlier ones, tend greatly to standardize the work.

Obviously, in the minds of the committee the idea of rigid parallel courses — however numerous — was not satisfactory. While their scheme afforded little opportunity for free individual choice, the principle of individual election was, in a small degree, recognized as applicable to all schools just as it had already been recognized in a limited way in the university.

Three years later, before the same association of teachers, Superintendent A. S. Whitney of Saginaw advocated the reduction of all courses to two—a "fitting,"

or college-preparatory course; and a "finishing," or non-preparatory course. He also urged the following reforms: (1) beginning two foreign languages in the seventh and eighth grades—the modern language coming first; (2) distributing the time allotted to the various subjects over a longer period; (3) introducing manual training, domestic science, and commercial subjects more extensively into the high schools; (4) granting high-school credit for successful work done outside the high school in music, painting, and drawing; (5) introducing more liberal courses of civics, sociology, and economics; (6) increasing the total number of recitation periods per week by permitting some "unprepared recitations"; and (7) making all subjects beyond the ninth grade purely elective, save perchance English.¹

During the next few years the greater number of the better high schools of the state began to revise their work in line with these suggestions.² Every year witnessed the further extension of the elective system, though the old courses of study were usually retained as suggestive guides pointing to more or less definitely perceived ends. In some schools these suggestive courses were but two—the college preparatory and the non-preparatory. In other schools they took the names "University of Michigan Literary Course," "University of Michigan Medical Course," "Normal School Course," "Wellesley Course," "Business Course," and others similarly. Each course contained the subjects that seemed best suited to lead to the ends conceived but no pupil was compelled to hold rigidly to the advice.

¹ Proceedings of State Teachers' Association, 1898, in *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1898, pp. 180 ff.

² It is not meant to imply that the movement was not already under way before 1898. It was, and the ideas suggested by Professor Whitney were, in part, already in successful operation in some schools of the state. His advice gave momentum to the reform.

Under the new ideals the program of studies recommended in 1895 seemed obsolete. Again, shortly after this date, therefore, the State Teachers' Association appointed a commission to "investigate the courses of study pursued in the high schools of the state and to recommend a uniform course of study for the same." This new commission, consisting of many of Michigan's foremost educators both in college and in secondary work, reported their decisions in 1905. The document is a valuable one, and the recommendations therein have since been accepted by many high schools of the state. The program of studies advised includes the following: Latin, 4 years; Greek, 2; English, 4; German, 4; French, 4; music, 4; history, 4; mathematics, 3 or 4; sciences, 4; drawing, 4; domestic art, 4; domestic science, 4; woodwork, 4; and ironwork, 4.¹

One still finds in Michigan a great variety of programs of studies, but underneath the apparent differences there is a common foundation; there is to-day a closer approximation to unity in the midst of the diversity. In almost all the larger schools and in many of the smaller there are offered to the youth rich menus from which each may appropriate what is best suited to his nature. The languages, the sciences, the social subjects, literature, art, and the "practical" studies are all there, nor is there any deep-seated jealousy among them. Each meets a felt need.

Respecting the academical preparations of high-school teachers during the period under consideration there are no available data. Of course every teacher was obliged to hold a legal certificate of some kind. The standards,

¹ See *Report*, p. 19. Manual training work had begun to find a place in some schools early in the nineties, Bay City, for example, introducing it in a small way in 1891. (*Report*, 1900, pp. 37 ff.) The most active movement, however, did not come until considerably later. Even yet few schools offer the work for more than one or two years in the high-school grades. (*Report*, 1905, Statistical Tables.) In 1915 only 86 of the cities and towns in the state provided work of any kind throughout their entire systems. (*Report*, 1915, pp. 180 ff.)

however, differed widely with different communities and at different times.¹ Apparently most of the superintendents or principals, together with the teachers of language, were college trained or had pursued work in a normal school. As schools developed and higher standards of attainments were made, a normal or college diploma became an essential qualification of appointment. For many years, however, the majority of teachers in the high schools were those who had received *only* a normal-school training. In more recent years, however, the standard has been set at graduation from a college offering a four-year course. To-day, in all the larger and stronger schools this is the unvarying rule. But in the smaller schools only a small minority of the teachers are college graduates.

In 1874 the university adopted the policy of granting to its graduates of especial merit a special "Teacher's Diploma."² In 1879 there was established in the University of Michigan the first chair of the Science and Art of Teaching that was found in a state university in America.³ Though no legal certificate was given students pursuing work in this department, its organization obviously stimulated the scholastic training of teachers.⁴ In 1891, however, the dignity and value of the pedagogical studies were enhanced by a legislative act authorizing the faculty of Literature, Science, and the Arts to grant a teacher's certificate, valid throughout the state during the life of the holder, to such students as took an academic

¹ In 1873, in answer to a circular sent out by Superintendent Briggs, 143 of the 311 union schools made replies. In these 143 schools 84 had high-school departments. In these 143 schools were employed 1,361 teachers, of whom 59 held state certificates; 82, normal-school diplomas; and 80, college diplomas. These figures include the superintendents and principals. (*Report*, 1873, pp. 28 ff.)

² This "Diploma" had no legal validity. It was signed by the president and by the professor who had had charge of the work, and was an official recommendation only.

³ *President's Report*, 1880. Superintendent Payne of Adrian was the first incumbent of this office.

⁴ Students could now secure academic training and professional training in the same institution, and at the same time gain an academic degree.

degree.¹ In harmony with this act the faculty voted to require of such candidates a minimum of work in the Department of the Science and Art of Teaching.

Two years later a similar legislative act authorized the State Board of Education to grant life certificates to graduates of other colleges of the state, provided such colleges offered each a full four years' course leading to a degree, and required at least eleven semester hours' work in their Department of Education.²

The normal school had naturally from its earliest organization enjoyed the privilege of certificating teachers.³ These new statutes gave the colleges equal advantages. In consequence, prospective teachers who could afford four years of post high-school preparation, more and more sought the colleges, and hence larger numbers of college-trained teachers have in recent years gone back into the high schools.⁴ In very recent years the standards set by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools have caused many high schools to reject all applications from candidates who hold no college degree.

¹ Act 144, Laws of 1891.

² Act 136, Laws of 1893. Eleven "hours" would be approximately one third of the work allowed to be carried in one college year; or nearly one whole semester's work. After the law of 1893, the faculty of the university also set eleven hours as the minimum requirement of pedagogical study leading to a life certificate.

³ Act of establishment, 1849, gave this privilege.

⁴ The following table shows the recent tendencies at the university:

YEAR	NUMBER GRADUATES LITERARY COLLEGE	NUMBER SENIORS PLANNING TO TEACH	PER CENT
1904-5	310	154	48
1905-6	297	157	53
1906-7	319	160	50
1907-8	323	178	55
1908-9	362	192	53
1909-10	356	197	56
1910-11	359	213	59
1911-12	394	199	51
1912-13	407	228	56
1913-14	479	243	51
1914-15	493	285	57

During the first semester, 1915-16, a total of 533 students were taking work in the Department of Education.

All these regulations have obviously had great influence upon the secondary schools. The college-bred teacher, being possessed of a greater degree of liberal culture and holding high ideals of scholarship, has, as a rule, carried into the high school a spirit that has been stimulating to intellectual effort and also has modified the standards of social intercourse and personal decorum. College ideals have been transplanted to the lower schools, and ambitions for college careers have been implanted and fostered in souls that might otherwise never have been awakened. Indeed, the personal influence of a generous, liberal, refined, and cultured man or woman—who can estimate it?

The clientèle supporting the public high schools of the state is as varied as society itself. In the early days of these schools the charge was made—most often, we must think, from ulterior motives—that they were exclusive and aristocratic. To refute these charges Superintendent Gass in 1883 gathered statistics respecting the family affiliations of high-school pupils, and found to his great satisfaction that the high schools were the very centers of democracy. Not only was this fact revealed in the constituency of the pupils, but also in their daily associations and ideals.¹ Children of the wealthy and the poor, of the professional classes and the non-professional classes, sit side by side and enter upon relations of close social intimacy. There is little trace of snobbishness or of feelings of social inferiority. In the high schools of Michigan all are equal nominally and, in large measure, actually.

The average number of pupils per teacher has varied

¹ Mr. Gass studied the conditions in thirty-six high schools. In Detroit he found 56 per cent of the pupils of the high school were children of *non-taxpayers* and that 33 per cent were from the so-called working classes. In the other thirty-five schools 34 per cent of the pupils were children of farmers, and 26 per cent of mechanics and laborers, 21 per cent made no reply to his questions. (*Report*, 1883, pp. xi and xii.)

from school to school and from one year to another. In 1883 the average of nine cities and towns was thirty-four per teacher.¹

The average age of pupils graduating from the high schools about 1870 was nearly nineteen and one-half years. By 1890 this had been reduced by one full year at least, owing largely to the superior organization of the schools, improved methods of instruction, and the generally enhanced financial conditions of society. Since 1890 there has been a further decrease in this regard.²

Toward the latter period of the era under discussion, organized high-school athletics came to play an important rôle in nearly every community. At first taking on a local form, the interest in these activities soon came to be an intercommunity affair, and finally as wide as the state. Interscholastic meetings of various kinds had by 1890 obtained a firm foothold in the school life of the larger schools and even in many small schools. Indeed, the fear was not unfounded that there was too great an interest centered about these affairs. Opinion was expressed that the schools were getting away from their intellectual ideals and from true standards of propriety and even of morality. To regulate and control these activities in the interest of school harmony, clean sport, and due proportion, the high-school section of the state Teachers' Association in 1895 appointed a committee to devise a plan of agreement to govern state interscholastic activities, and to nominate a Board of Directors to supervise all inter-high-school athletic contests.³

¹ Monroe's average was 18; Battle Creek's, 22; Kalamazoo's, 23; Detroit's, 25; Flint's, 30; Ann Arbor's, 35; Hillsdale's, 42; Hastings', 52; and Ithaca's, 58. (*Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1883, pp. 12 ff.)

These same schools in 1913-14 showed the following averages: Monroe, 19; Battle Creek, 26; Kalamazoo, 16; Detroit, 21; Flint, 22; Ann Arbor, 22; Hillsdale, 24; Hastings, 28; Ithaca, 31. (*Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1913-14, pp. 180 ff.)

² Comparisons of statistics found in *Reports of Superintendents of Public Instruction*.

³ *Report*, 1896, p. 335.

After due consideration this committee recommended a plan which became the basis for determining future athletic meetings.¹ From that day to this, athletics has played a leading rôle throughout the state, but it has been rigidly subjected to official supervision and control.

Thus in almost every aspect the high schools of Michigan have been keeping step with progress. During that whole period of fifty years, which is so aptly called the High-School Period, one word alone best describes the whole situation. This is the word *growth*—steady, healthful, many-sided growth. There has been growth in public sentiment favorable to the high schools; there has been growth in friendly legislative action and in the resources dedicated to high-school purposes; there has been growth in numbers of schools established and in new buildings erected; there has been growth in enrollment and in attendance; there has been growth in the richness of the program of study and in the methods of its adjustment to individual needs; there has been growth in equipment, and in the teaching force; there has been an enhancement of the social rank of the teachers; and, finally, there has been growth in professional spirit and in the ideals and ambitions that dominate parents, pupils, and teachers alike.

In a later book an effort will be made to note the contemporary tendencies and to analyze them in the light of this historic past.

¹ The salient parts of the adopted agreement were: (a) Every contestant must be carrying at least ten weekly hours of work, and must be doing satisfactory work in these ten hours. (b) No person was allowed to compete for more than five seasons. (c) No person was permitted to compete in athletics of the second semester who had not been enrolled in the school from October 1 to March 1, and was still a member of the school.

APPENDIX A

COURSE OF STUDY FOR COUNTY NORMAL TRAINING CLASSES IN MICHIGAN IN BULLETIN I OF 1908, ISSUED BY THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

QUALIFICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO CLASSES

1. All applicants for admission must be at least seventeen years of age at the time of entrance.
2. They must subscribe to the following declaration: I hereby declare that my object in asking admission to the training class is to prepare myself for teaching, and it is my purpose to engage in teaching in the rural schools, or in schools of not more than two departments, at the completion of such preparation, and I pledge myself to serve the state faithfully in such school, during the life of my certificate. I pledge myself to remain in the class during the year unless prevented by sickness or excused by the county normal board.
3. All applicants must possess a good moral character.
4. Applicants must possess these academic qualifications to enter training classes:
 - (a) Any person who is a graduate of a graded school having at least a course of ten grades in its curriculum.
 - (b) Any person who is a holder of at least a second-grade certificate, or shall pass a second-grade examination.
 - (c) Any person who has had two years of successful experience in teaching in the public schools.

NOTE.—These should be strictly observed.

COURSE OF STUDY

FIRST QUARTER

Psychology
Reading, Spelling, Writing
English (Language Work)
Arithmetic
Manual Training
Observation (last four weeks)

THIRD QUARTER

Practice Teaching
Pedagogy
Geography
United States History
Civics and School Law

SECOND QUARTER

Psychology and Pedagogy
Classics (Literary Study)
Grammar
Arithmetic and Book-keeping
State Course of Study
Observation

FOURTH QUARTER

Practice Teaching
Pedagogy and School Management
Geography (three weeks), Physiology
(six weeks)
United States History
Elementary Agriculture

NOTES.—1. Music and drawing alternate through the year.

2. Sufficient time should be given in the second quarter for a specific study of the State Course of Study as a whole.
3. Daily work in the subjects specified for each quarter.
4. In connection with reading, language, arithmetic, and geography present proper primary methods, and also give *special lessons* on general primary methods.

APPENDIX B

STATE OF MICHIGAN HIGH-SCHOOL COURSE IN AGRICULTURE, SUGGESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION OF THE MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

COURSE			
9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	12th Grade
English	English	Literature and Composition	Literature and Rhetoric
Algebra	Geometry	Physics	Chemistry
Arithmetic and Book-keeping	General History	Commercial Geography; Zoology	American History and Civics
Botany	Crops (el.) } Soils and tillage } ‡	Live Stock, types and breeds } Dairying } ‡	Live Stock, improvement, feeds and feeding } ‡
Agricultural Botany	Horticulture } ‡ Entomology } ‡	Soils and soil physics } ‡	Poultry } Farm management } Farm Mechanics } ‡ Farm Machinery }

APPENDIX C

A TYPICAL SMALL SCHOOL SYSTEM

BROWN CITY HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY

		REQUIRED	ELECTIVE
First Year.....	First Semester	Composition and Literature, Algebra	Latin, Physiology, Ancient History
	Second Semester	Composition and Literature, Algebra	Latin, Botany, Ancient History
Second Year.....	First Semester	Composition and Literature, Plane Geometry	Cæsar, Physical Geography, Medieval History
	Second Semester	Composition and Literature, Plane Geometry	Cæsar, Physical Geography, Medieval History
Third Year.....	First Semester	English	Cicero, German, Chemistry, Advanced Algebra
	Second Semester	English	Cicero, German, Chemistry, Solid Geometry
Fourth Year....	First Semester	Physics, Civics and United States History	Vergil, English Literature, German, Book-keeping
	Second Semester	Physics, Civics and United States History	Vergil, English Literature, German, Reviews

APPENDIX D

A TYPICAL LARGE SCHOOL SYSTEM

OUTLINE OF COURSE OF STUDY IN THE GRAND RAPIDS HIGH SCHOOLS, 1914

7-1 Grade					8-1 Grade					8-2 Grade				
English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....	5	English.....
Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Arithmetic.....	5	Algebra.....
Geography.....	4	American History	4	American History	4	American History	4	American History	4	American History	4	American History	4	Algebra.....
Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Reading.....	1	Ancient History..
Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Bench Work....	3	Latin.....
Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	Dom. Science...	3	German.....
Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Dom. Art.....	1	Pen. and Spelling
Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Printing.....	1	Physical Geog-
Music.....	1	Music.....	1	Music.....	1	Music.....	1	Music.....	1	Music.....	1	Music.....	1	raphy.....
Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Art.....	1	Book-keeping...
Elective and Special					Elective and Special					Elective and Special				
Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Business Arith...	5	Dr. & Shop.....
Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Applied Eng....	5	Design.....
Latin.....	5	Chorus or	2	Chorus or	2	Chorus or	2	Chorus or	2	Chorus or	2	Chorus or	2	Domestic Art... 5
Mech. Draw....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Orchestra.....	2	Physical Train... 1
German.....	5	Printing.....	5 to 25	Printing.....	5 to 25	Printing.....	5 to 25	Printing.....	5 to 25	Printing.....	5 to 25	Printing.....	5 to 25	
Chorus or	2	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	Dom. Art ..\$ to 10	3	
Orchestra.....	2	Metal Working .	2	Metal Working .	2	Metal Working .	2	Metal Working .	2	Metal Working .	2	Metal Working .	2	
German.....	2	Elementary	2	Elementary	2	Elementary	2	Elementary	2	Elementary	2	Elementary	2	
Latin.....	5	Science.....	2	Science.....	2	Science.....	2	Science.....	2	Science.....	2	Science.....	2	
Mech. Draw....	3													

Note 1.—This course of study in 7th and 8th grades is offered only in those schools that have departmental organization of those grades.

Note 2.—The number opposite each subject in the outline indicates the number of recitations per week, or the credit toward graduation.

OUTLINE OF COURSE OF STUDY IN THE GRAND RAPIDS HIGH SCHOOLS, 1914—Continued

10-1 Grade	10-2 Grade	11-1 Grade	11-2 Grade	12-1 Grade	12-2 Grade
English..... 5	English..... 5	English..... 5	English..... 5	English..... 5	English..... 5
Public Sp'k..... 1	Public Sp'k..... 1	Geometry..... 5	Geometry..... 5	Solid Geometry . 5	Trigonometry... 5
Algebra..... 5	Ancient History or European History (Long Course)..... 5	European History (Long Course)..... 5	European History (Long Course)..... 5	American History 5	American History 5
Ancient History or European History (Long Course)..... 5	History (Short Course)..... 5	History (Short Course)..... 5	History (Short Course)..... 5	Latin..... 5	Latin..... 5
Latin..... 5	Latin..... 5	Latin..... 5	Latin..... 5	Greek..... 5	Greek..... 5
German..... 5	German..... 5	German..... 5	German..... 5	German..... 5	German..... 5
German..... 5	French..... 5	French..... 5	French..... 5	French..... 5	French..... 5
Agriculture..... 5	Spanish..... 5	Spanish..... 5	Spanish..... 5	Spanish..... 5	Spanish..... 5
Botany..... 5	Chemistry..... 5	Chemistry..... 5	Chemistry..... 5	Physics..... 5	Physics..... 5
Botany..... 5	Commercial Law 5	Industrial History..... 5	Industrial History..... 5	Economics..... 5	Salesmanship... 5
Physiology..... 5	Typewriting & Stenography... 5	Typewriting & Stenography... 5	Typewriting & Stenography... 5	Typewriting & Stenography... 5	Typewriting & Stenography... 5
Book-keeping... 5	Draw. & Shop... 5	Draw. & Shop... 5	Stenography... 5	Draw. & Shop... 5	Draw. & Shop... 5
Dr. & Shop..... 5	Mechanical Drawing..... 2½	Mechanical Drawing..... 5	Draw. & Shop... 5	Mechanical Drawing..... 5	Mechanical Drawing..... 5
Dom. Sci..... 5	Domestic Art... 5	Domestic Art... 5	Mechanical Drawing..... 5	Housekeeping, Dom. Science . 5	Home Economics 5
Freehand Drawing..... 2½	Freehand Drawing..... 2½	Design..... 5	Design..... 5	Debating..... 2	Debating..... 5
Dom. Sci..... 5	Oratory..... 2	Oratory..... 2	Oratory..... 2		

APPENDIX E

ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF LITERATURE,
SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
TAKEN FROM THE OFFICIAL CATALOGUE OF 1914-15

ADMISSION OF CANDIDATES FOR A DEGREE

Admission to this College is gained only by examination or by certificate. Applicants for admission must be at least sixteen years of age, and must have completed the requirements for admission as here described. Fifteen units are required for admission, a unit meaning the equivalent of five recitations a week in one branch of study for one year, amounting in the aggregate to not less than one hundred twenty sixty-minute hours in the clear. Two to three hours of laboratory, drawing, or shop-work will be counted as equivalent to one of recitation.

ADMISSION ON EXAMINATION

The fifteen units presented for admission on examination must all be chosen from Group I. They must embrace two subjects of three units each, and must include three units of English Composition and Literature, two units of a Foreign Language, one unit of Algebra and one of Geometry, and one unit of one of the sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, or Zoölogy.

ADMISSION ON CERTIFICATE

Plan A. The fifteen units presented for admission on certificate (except by those entering from especially approved schools, see *Plan B*) must include three units of English Composition and Literature, two units of a Foreign Language, one unit of Algebra and one of Geometry, and one unit of one of the sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, or Zoölogy; and may include not more than three units from Group II. They must embrace two subjects of three units each from Group I. It is, however, strongly recommended that one or more studies be pursued throughout the four years of the high-school course.

Plan B. Graduates of schools on the approved list of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools will be admitted upon the presentation of an unqualified recommendation

covering not less than fifteen units, of which at least twelve must be from Group I. Admission on this basis of recommendation may be granted also to the graduates of other especially approved schools.

Applicants for admission who intend to enter the Combined Curriculum in Letters and Medicine must offer two units of Latin. They are also strongly advised to present Trigonometry, Physics, and Chemistry. Those who enter without these subjects will ordinarily need to attend one Summer Session in addition to the regular term prescribed for the course.

SUBJECTS ACCEPTED FOR ADMISSION

The subjects from which choice may be made, and the number of units which will be accepted in each subject, are as follows:

Group I

English Composition and Literature, 3 or 4 units	Trigonometry, $\frac{1}{2}$ unit
Greek, 2 or 3 units	Physics, 1 unit
Latin, 2, 3, or 4 units	Chemistry, 1 unit
French, 2, 3, or 4 units	Botany, $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 unit
German, 2, 3, or 4 units	Zoology, $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 unit
Spanish, 2, 3, or 4 units	Physiology, $\frac{1}{2}$ unit
History, 1, 2, or 3 units	Geology, $\frac{1}{2}$ unit
Algebra, 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, or 2 units	Physiography, $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 unit
Geometry, 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ units	

Three units of science may be offered as a three-unit subject.

In order that a half unit in science may be accepted it must be supplemented by a second half unit in science. For this purpose the following groupings are suggested: (a) Botany and Zoology; (b) Zoology (or Botany) and Physiology; (c) Physiography and Geology; (d) Physiography and Botany.

Two units of Mathematics and one unit of Physics may be offered as a three-unit subject, in which case a second unit of science must be presented.

Group II

Agriculture, 1 or 2 units	Domestic Science, 1 or 2 units
Drawing, $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 unit	Manual Training, 1 or 2 units
Commercial Branches, 1 or 2 units	

Subjects from Group II will not be accepted for admission on examination.

APPENDIX F

SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON THE ACCREDITED LIST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, 1914-15

*Adrian	Athens
*Albion	Bad Axe, a
Allegan	Bangor, a
*Alma	*Battle Creek
*Alpena	*Bay City, E. S., a
*Ann Arbor	Bay City, Holy Rosary Academy
Ann Arbor, St. Thomas' School	Bay City, St. James Academy
Armada	

- Bay City, St. Mary's School
- *Bay City, W. S.
- Belding
- Bellaire
- Bellevue
- *Benton Harbor
- Benzonia Academy
- Berrien Springs
- *Bessemer
- *Big Rapids
- Big Rapids, Ferris Institute
- *Birmingham
- Blissfield
- *Boyne City, *a*
- Bronson
- Brown City
- Buchanan
- *Cadillac
- *Calumet
- Caro
- Carson City
- Cass City
- Cassopolis
- Cedar Springs
- Central Lake
- Champion
- Charlevoix
- *Charlotte, *a*
- *Cheboygan
- Chelsea
- Chesaning
- Clare
- *Coldwater
- Coleman
- Coloma
- Colon
- Constantine
- Coopersville
- Corunna
- Croswell, *a*
- *Crystal Falls
- Decatur
- Detroit, Cass
- *Detroit, Central
- *Detroit, Eastern
- *Detroit, Liggett
- *Detroit, McMillan
- *Detroit, University School
- *Detroit, Western
- Dexter
- *Dollar Bay
- *Dowagiac
- Dundee
- Durand
- East Jordan
- Eaton Rapids
- Elk Rapids
- Elsie
- *Escanaba, *a*
- *Ewart, *a*
- Fenton
- *Flint
- Flushing, *a*
- Fowlerville
- Frankfort
- *Fremont, *a*
- Galesburg
- Gaylord
- *Gladstone
- Gladwin
- *Grand Haven
- Grand Ledge
- Grand Rapids, Catholic H. S.
for Boys
- Grand Rapids, Catholic H. S.
for Girls
- *Grand Rapids, Central
- *Grand Rapids, John Calvin
Preparatory
- Grand Rapids, Sacred Heart
Academy
- *Grand Rapids, Union
- Grass Lake
- Grayling
- Greenland
- *Greenville
- *Gwinn
- *Hancock
- Harbor Beach
- Harbor Springs
- *Hart, *a*
- Hartford
- *Hastings, *a*
- *Highland Park
- *Hillsdale, *a*
- *Holland
- Holly
- Homer
- *Houghton
- Howard City
- Howell
- *Hudson, *a*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Imlay City | Munising |
| *Ionia | *Muskegon, <i>a</i> |
| *Iron Mountain | Nashville |
| Iron River | *Negaunee |
| *Ironwood | Newaygo |
| Ironwood, St. Ambrose | New Baltimore |
| *Ishpeming | *Newberry |
| Ithaca | *Niles |
| *Jackson | North Branch |
| Jonesville | Northville |
| *Kalamazoo | *Norway |
| Kalamazoo, Nazareth Academy | Olivet |
| Kalamazoo, Normal Preparatory | Onaway |
| Kalkaska | Ontonagon |
| *Lake Linden | Orion |
| Lake Odessa | *Otsego, <i>a</i> |
| Lake View | Ovid |
| L'Anse | *Owosso |
| *Lansing | Oxford |
| Lansing, St. Mary's | *Painesdale |
| Lapeer | *Paw Paw |
| Lawton, <i>a</i> | Pellston |
| Leslie | Pentwater |
| *Lowell | *Petoskey |
| Ludington, <i>a</i> | Plainwell |
| Ludington, St. Simon's | Plymouth |
| Mancelona | *Pontiac |
| Manchester | *Port Huron |
| *Manistee, <i>a</i> | *Portland |
| *Manistique | Rapid River |
| Manton | Reading |
| Marcellus | Reed City |
| Marine City | Republic |
| Marlette | Richmond |
| *Marquette | *River Rouge |
| *Marshall | Rochester |
| *Mason | Rockford |
| Mendon | Rockland |
| *Menominee | Romeo |
| *Midland | Royal Oak |
| Milan | *Saginaw, E. S. |
| Millington | Saginaw, St. Mary's |
| *Monroe, <i>a</i> | Saginaw, SS. Peter and Paul |
| Monroe, St. Mary's | *Saginaw, W. S. |
| Morenci | St. Charles |
| *Mt. Clemens | St. Clair |
| *Mt. Pleasant | St. Ignace |
| Mt. Pleasant, Normal Preparatory | *St. Johns, <i>a</i> |
| Mt. Pleasant, Sacred Heart | *St. Joseph |
| | *St. Louis, <i>a</i> |
| | Saline |

Sandusky	*Traverse City, <i>a</i>
Saranac	Trenton
*Sault Ste. Marie	*Union City, <i>a</i>
Schoolcraft	Vassar
Scottville	Vicksburg
Sebewaing	Vulcan
Shelby	*Wakefield
Shepherd	Watervliet, <i>a</i>
South Grand Rapids	Wayne
*South Haven, <i>a</i>	West Branch
Sparta	*Williamston
Spring Arbor Academy	*Wyandotte
Stanton	Yale
*Sturgis	*Ypsilanti
Tecumseh	Ypsilanti, Normal Preparatory
Three Oaks	Zeeland
*Three Rivers	

Number of accredited public high schools in Michigan	225
Number of accredited parochial and private high schools in Michigan	23
Number of high schools in Michigan accredited by the North Central Association	100
Total number of schools accredited by the North Central Association	986

* Schools marked with an asterisk (*) are also accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

a Schools marked thus (*a*) offer work in Agriculture that is accepted for admission at the university.

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